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# THE CANADIAN JOBS STRATEGY:
# SELECTED OUTCOMES AND POLITICAL SYSTEM CHARACTERISTICS WITHIN A RECURRENT EDUCATION CONTEXT

by

MICHAEL F. GAFFNEY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **THE CANADIAN JOBS STRATEGY: SELECTED OUTCOMES AND POLITICAL SYSTEM CHARACTERISTICS WITHIN A RECURRENT EDUCATION CONTEXT** submitted by MICHAEL GAFFNEY in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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Date: 21 April 1987

To my family

# ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to monitor the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS), a Canadian government employment and training policy, as an instrument used to finance recurrent education.

Data was collected and analyzed using a monitoring approach based upon Dunn's (1981) general framework for monitoring and Colvin's policy implementation model from his 1975 study of federal-provincial manpower policies.

Through the monitoring process, information was gathered about selected policy outcomes (or consequences) and their causes. This information related to the manner, and the types of skills in which CJS participants received instruction; and how, and the extent to which CJS encouraged employment opportunities, equality of participation, and equity in cost-sharing arrangements.

Most information was gathered between June and December 1986. The sources of information included project files, aggregated CJS data, and CJS policy documents at the Regional Headquarters of Employment and Immigration Canada, where the researcher had been allocated workspace. These sources of information were supplemented by interviews with federal and provincial government personnel, and postsecondary educators, and public statements by the Minister(s) for Employment and Immigration and other interested parties.

The findings were interpreted through reference to literature on the nature of the recurrent education concept, and notions of politics and political systems.

The contentions that conflicting motives may underly recurrent education policy, were supported. The implementation of CJS produced tensions related to these conflicting motives.

These tensions were viewed to result from interaction between the implementing organization, the stated policy, the target groups, environmental factors, and actions at the policymaking level. They emphasized some less rational or hierarchial characteristics of political systems.

Government action was found to shift between conflict management and service delivery. At times, the government was found to act in a number of modes, simultaneously.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Overview of the Study

Recurrent education has been described as an elastic concept, encompassing a variety of motives and forms. For example, it has been viewed as a means by which workers whose jobs are affected by changing technology or market conditions can receive the training required to continue effective participation in the labour force. It has also been seen as an avenue through which long-term unemployed persons, women who wish to re-enter the workforce, and young people who need help in finding and maintaining employment can develop the skills needed for employment.

A major aspect of the Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) was to provide training for individuals in these circumstances. Accordingly, CJS may be considered as a policy set within a recurrent education context.

This study was designed to examine selected outcomes of CJS as a mechanism for the provision of recurrent education.

### Setting of the Study

Levin and Schutze (1983:26) suggest that "two phenomena will make recurrent education a vital strategy for promoting workplace productivity, employment, and occupational mobility."

First, retraining to cope with the acceleration of technological change and the accompanying transformation of occupations will necessarily focus on the existing workforce. Levin and Schutze (1983:26) claim that this is because "there will no longer be massive inflows of new workers with the latest skills."

Second, as predicted in recent studies, [Grubb (1984), Rumberger (1984), Rumberger and Levin (1985), and Levin and Rumberger (1983)], while high technology industries will continue to grow rapidly, the majority of jobs will be created in the service industries.

Rumberger and Levin (1984:414) indicate their concern with this prediction in stating that

> not only will high tech provide few job opportunities in the future economy, but most new jobs will require no postsecondary schooling and will pay wages significantly lower than the average.

Related to this concern, Levin and Schutze (1983:26) comment that the growth of employment in relatively low-skill areas highlight

> a need for further education and training to create mobility and avoid a caste-like segmentation of large numbers of workers in low-skill jobs.

These authors maintain that recurrent education can meet the challenges associated with these two phenomena. It can provide an opportunity for workers to upgrade their skills to cope with technological change and a way for persons in low-skill jobs to increase their occupational mobility.

A broad definition of recurrent education appears in the 1973 OECD report. This report defined recurrent education as

> a comprehensive educational strategy for all post-compulsory or post-basic education, the essential characteristic of which is the distribution of education over the life-span of the individual in a recurring way. . . , (OECD, 1973:24).

Motives which seem to be behind arguments for recurrent education can be viewed under three themes. Recurrent education may be seen as a way to improve productivity and the functioning of labour markets through fostering skill acquisition and employment opportunities, to promote participation and equity, or to bring about change in educational institutions.

Each theme tends to suggest a specific target clientele and rationale which could be seen to reflect the preferences of particular stakeholder groups. For example, Levin and Schutze (1983:22) suggest that

> the enhancement of social participation and equity may be important goals on their own merits, but they are not designed to contribute to institutional change or increase productivity. To some degree the various approaches are in conflict; at the very least, resources that are committed to one version may not be available for the pursuit of other approaches.

Therefore those who call for a more integrated and comprehensive approach to translating the recurrent education concept into policy need to recognize that there may be little overlap in the motives of stakeholder groups, and that forging a politically acceptable strategy for implementation may be difficult.

The Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS), announced in June 1985 by the Honourable Flora MacDonald, Minister for Employment and Immigration, presented an opportunity to study training and retraining of the workforce within the recurrent education context. CJS consists of six main programs the essential features of which are summarized in Appendix A.

The programs of CJS seemed to address a diverse range of motives. First, CJS was described by the Minister as an attempt to improve productivity and the functioning of the labour market, as follows:

> If we are to remain competitive, then we are going to have to meet a number of difficult challenges - challenges posed by rapid technological change, shifting world markets, new skill requirements and the need for increased productivity (CJS, WH3494:1).

Second, CJS was aimed to encourage participation and equity, as follows:

> Four groups have been designated as requiring special measures to correct traditional imbalances in the work force: women, native people, persons with disabilities and visible minority groups.
>
> The new programs have been specifically designed to ensure that [these groups] will benefit from them by providing a greater share of employment opportunities than there has ever been before (CJS WH3494:22).

Third, under CJS more funding was to be available to 3rd parties, such as employers, for the purchase of training from public educational institutions. This was described by the Minister to have implications for institutional change, as follows:

> I can assure the Hon. Member that through the Canadian Jobs Strategy . . . , the provinces will be able to acquire more moneys provided they make their systems relevant to the needs of people who want to get into the job market (Hansard, 6 June 1986).

## Theoretical Justification for the Study

This study was designed to develop knowledge in the following areas.

First, I employed a monitoring approach derived from Dunn's (1981) general framework for monitoring, Colvin's (1975) policy implementation model, and Timmerman's (1983) criteria for evaluating financing mechanisms of recurrent education. Dunn's (1981) social auditing technique and monitoring framework were adapted to the recurrent education context of CJS by using Timmerman's (1983) criteria and Colvin's (1975) policy implementation model from his study of federal-provincial manpower policies.

Second, the problematic and evolutionary nature of the recurrent education concept was a major focus of the study. Through tracing the historical development of the term, as reflected in publications by OECD [(1973), (1975)] and Houghton and Richardson (1974), and the analyses of Bengtsson (1972), Duke (1982) and Kallen (1979), I sought to investigate how CJS fitted within a recurrent education context. A further aim was to determine support for the view of Levin and Schutze (1983) that motives for improving productivity and the functioning of the labour market may conflict with those associated with fostering participation and equity. Similarly the ideas of Schuller (1978), dealing with the tensions and tradeoffs inherent in recurrent education policy development, and Smith's (1973) model of policy serving as a tension generating force provided further bases for interpretation of the findings.

Better knowledge of the recurrent education concept brought about by drawing relationships between the findings for CJS and the literature contributes to the theoretical justification for the study.

Third, an aim of the study was to apply the notions of politics and political systems proposed by Scribner and Englert (1977), Iannacone [(1967),(1980)], Burlingame (1977), and Kaufman (cited in Iannacone, 1980). The models of politics suggested by Weeres (1984), and the theories of government action and associated definitions of policy offered by Mitchell [(1984),(1985)] were also used to interpret the findings.

The degree to which this literature was able to explain the actions of various stakeholders may serve to direct further research into the nature of politics.

Furthermore, by observing the extent to which certain outcomes emerged, the outcomes of similar policy initiatives may be predicted. In this way, the study would serve to indicate some likely policy consequences, interpretations of the recurrent education concept, and actions of various stakeholders, arising from the implementation of financing instruments similar to CJS.

## Practical Significance of the Study

The significance of developing a comprehensive model for the financing of recurrent education has received considerable exposure over recent years.

There has been a consistent focus on the importance of skill development. For example, the Economic Council of Canada (1982:95) has stated :

> The old cycle of schooling, training and work is likely to be replaced by a sequence of retraining and re-education. In recognition of this, arrangements for lifelong skill development must be investigated carefully.

A similar viewpoint is expressed by the National Advisory Panel on Skill Development Leave (1984:4):

> Our principle international economic competitors already recognize that the skills and capacities of the working population represent the largest contribution to a country's productivity.

These perspectives reflect the sentiments put forward in CJS. The Honourable Flora MacDonald, Minister for Employment and Immigration, (1985:2), has stated that CJS

> orients training and job development to the changing marketplace, to technological innovation and to the creation of a more competitive, productive work force.

This study was justified on practical grounds from the consistent concern expressed in these reports as they reflect society's disquiet on matters relating to technological change and future employment patterns.

Information which was collected and synthesized from the various program elements may clarify the direction for future policy action.

## Research Questions

These research questions were investigated. They are listed and discussed under their respective themes.

## Skill Acquisition and Employment Opportunities

1. How, and in which types of skills do CJS participants receive training?

2. How, and to what extent does CJS foster the provision of employment opportunities?

Questions 1 and 2 dealt with issues related to skill acquisition and the development of employment opportunities. Question 1 focussed upon the manner and the types of skills in which CJS participants received training. The impact of the manner in which instruction was given was assessed through analysing the responses of provincial government officials, postsecondary educators, small business representatives, private training consultants and other possible beneficiaries. Characteristics of the participants and the degree to which the types of training appeared to meet both the immediate and the longterm needs of those participants was also considered.

Question 2 aimed at determining how and the extent to which CJS fostered the provision of employment opportunities. This question examined how CJS provided for the continuing employment as well as the reemployment of individuals as a consequence of their participation in CJS programs. The ways in which current employment is maintained while training takes place and the manner by which unemployed persons were reintroduced to the workplace were important areas for investigation.

### Participation and Equity

3. How, and to what extent does CJS encourage equality of participation?

4. How, and to what extent does CJS encourage equity of the financial burden?

Participation and equity issues were explored through Questions 3 and 4. Demographic characteristics of the participants in various programs constituted important data in answering Question 3, relating to equality of participation among individuals and social classes. Question 4 dealt more specifically with matters of 'who pays the bill?' for participation. Answering this question required an examination of the relative financial contributions which the federal government, employers, sponsors, managing coordinators, and participants made to support particular projects.

## Assumptions

The assumption made in this study was that:

The details contained in the project files and gathered from the computerized information systems and by manual searches would accurately reflect the characteristics of program participants, the program structure, contents and operation, and the program cost-sharing arrangements.

## Delimitations

The following delimitations apply to this study.

1. The study examined four questions, each focussing on a specific outcome assessment criterion. Several criteria

proposed by Timmermann (1983) and outlined in Chapter 2, while considered appropriate for assessing the outcomes of various financing mechanisms, were not included in this study.

2. Elements of CJS which did not fit within a recurrent education context were omitted from the study. These were the Cooperative Education Option, and the Challenge 86 component of the Job Entry Program. The majority of participants in these program elements have continued their education in the traditional way. They are full-time students, although in the Cooperative Education Option they receive work experience as part of their course requirements, while in Challenge 86 they were engaged in subsidized summer employment.

3. The Community Futures Program and the Innovations Program (see Appendix A) were omitted from the study. During the period of monitoring these programs had not become fully operational. Neither program contained participants. Consequently the research questions were much less applicable to these programs than to programs in which training was taking place.

## Limitations

This study was limited by the time during which CJS had been in operation. The policy was announced in June 1985 and has been gradually implemented from that time. Consequently some of the programs, or options under particular programs, had been running for periods of approximately twelve months when they were monitored.

While a longitudinal approach may have given a better representation of the variation of particular outcomes, this shorter term investigation did offer advantages in highlighting emergent strengths and weaknesses at an earlier stage. Longer term consequences of CJS may be the focus of future studies.

## Research Design

Dunn (1981:278) contends that monitoring is a "policy-analytic procedure used to produce information about the causes and consequences of public policies."

In keeping with this approach each research question required gathering information about policy causes and consequences. Policy causes were defined as policy inputs and processes, whereas policy consequences or outcomes were expressed as policy outputs and impacts.

Each research question was represented by an outcome assessment criterion. Answering each research question produced information about how and with what consequences each outcome assessment criterion was satisfied. The criterion, encouraging skill acquisition, represented question 1; encouraging employment opportunities, question 2; encouraging equality of participation, question 3; and encouraging equity of the financial burden, question 4.

Sources of information used in determining and explaining policy outcomes are listed in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Sources of Information Used to Determine and Explain Policy Outcomes

| Source of Information |
|---|
| Project Files |
| Aggregated CJS Data |
| CJS Policy Documents |
| Interviews with Federal Government Personnel |
| Interviews with Postsecondary Educators |
| Interviews with Provincial Government Personnel |
| Ministerial Statements |
| Statements of Other Interested Parties |

Two features of these sources of information are closely related to policy monitoring in general and to the social auditing approach in particular. First, the sources provided both objective and subjective information in relation to outcome assessment criteria.

Second, in keeping with Dunn's (1981:294) interpretation of social auditing as "explicitly monitoring relations among inputs, processes, outputs, and impacts," the listing contained sources of information which would relate to those components.

Once information relevant to each research question had been gathered and analyzed the findings were interpreted through drawing upon literature about:

1. policy monitoring,

2. the problematic and evolutionary nature of the recurrent education concept, and

3. notions of politics and political systems. Included in this third area was a discussion of two models of politics, resource dependency and competitive isomorphism, and definition(s) of policy held by governments as evidenced by their actions.

## Data Collection

Access to project files, aggregated CJS data, and confidential CJS policy documents was granted by the Deputy Minister of Employment and Immigration Canada (EIC), G. Lussier, following negotiations with the Alberta Regional Headquarters (RHQ) and the National Headquarters of EIC (NHQ).

As a result of the interest shown in the study by federal officials, and the need to ensure that important documents remained in the building, I was allocated a workspace at the Regional Headquarters in downtown Edmonton. This arrangement gave me ready access to personnel, project files, documents and aggregated CJS data, and the opportunity to observe policy processes at first hand.

Project files contained several information sources. These included training plans, client information forms, contribution schedules, and monitoring reports.

The computerized information systems of EIC provided various types of aggregated data. Information on participant characteristics, cost-sharing arrangements and how and in what types of skills participants received training was available.

Public CJS policy documents were obtained from local Canada Employment Centres (CECs) and RHQ. Information booklets and leaflets about particular features of CJS were collected. These documents presented the objectives as well as advice on how to obtain access to individual program elements. Chapters of the EIC Employment Manual relating to CJS were also studied. These chapters provided a more detailed account of policy objectives and processes than was given in the information booklets and leaflets.

Confidential policy documents were defined as those documents to which the public is not generally granted access. Examples include minutes of meetings, memoranda, planning documents and policy circulars. Correspondence between NHQ and RHQ, within RHQ, and between RHQ and the CECs, and the minutes of Ministers' meetings at federal-provincial-territorial labour market conferences were an important means of gaining a sense of the dynamic nature of policy implementation.

Interviews with federal government personnel took place frequently throughout my five months at RHQ. Most interviews were short and semi-structured and were conducted to enhance my understanding of information from project files, CJS policy documents, and computerized information systems. Another purpose for conducting these interviews was to gauge the interviewees' opinions of particular policy outcomes and their associated causes.

Interviews with postsecondary educators and provincial government personnel were undertaken to introduce other perspectives on the consequences of CJS and their related causes.

Ministerial statements were gleaned from Hansard, news releases, and newspaper reports to gain understandings of policy causes and consequences from the federal government's perspective.

Reported statements of other interested parties were also taken into account. Interested parties included the Minister's parliamentary colleagues, members of the Opposition, government officials, journalists, those representing target groups or beneficiaries, and members of the general public. These statements were drawn from Hansard and from newspapers, or recorded during public information sessions.

Data collection took place during a twelve month period. Over five months was spent on a full-time basis at RHQ. The remaining time was used to interview personnel in local CECs, postsecondary institutions and the provincial government, and to attend public information sessions.

In general, data was collected on a program by program basis.

## Data Analysis

Each piece of information underwent three stages of classification. First, data was categorized by CJS program element, next by research question, and finally in terms of whether the data described policy causes (policy inputs and processes) or policy consequences (policy outputs and impacts).

This classification process was used for each source of information. By using a variety of information sources it was possible for different sources to provide details on one aspect of a research question.

## Organization of the Thesis

An overview of the study has been presented in this chapter. The literature on the problematic and evolutionary nature of recurrent education, approaches to policy monitoring, criteria for assessing financing mechanisms of recurrent education, and notions of politics and political systems is reviewed in Chapter 2. A conceptual framework is presented in Chapter 3 which demonstrates linkages between policy inputs, processes, and outcomes, and relationships between those components and various political system characteristics within a recurrent education context. Chapter 4 discusses the research instruments, the procedures used in data collection, and the techniques adopted for analyzing that data. Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 contain the findings related to each program element. In each of these chapters, the findings applying to particular outcome assessment criteria are presented as policy causes and policy outcomes and then interpreted through reference to the literature on policy monitoring, recurrent education and notions of politics and political systems. Chapter 10 presents a summary of the study with conclusions, implications and recommendations for practice and further research.

# CHAPTER 2

## Review of the Literature

The material presented in this review provides background to the research questions and the basis for the conceptual framework of the study.

### Recurrent Education as a Problematic and Evolutionary Concept

The term recurrent education was first brought to the attention of a wide audience by Olaf Palme, as the Swedish Minister of Education, at the Conference of European Ministers of Education at Versailles in 1968. Palme proposed that recurrent education could serve as a means to achieve a more equitable distribution of educational resources between younger and older generations, to reduce the gap between theory and practice and between workers and students, and to moderate educational demand from the younger generation. In describing Palme's ideas, Kallen (1979) suggests that, at this stage, recurrent education was regarded as a replica of youth education for adults, with disadvantaged adults receiving priority.

Bengtsson (1972) in an early OECD report identified two different interpretations of recurrent education. One interpretation was to leave the present system of youth education alone so that recurrent education is essentially a second-chance education for adults. His other, more radical interpretation, saw recurrent education as changing at least the post-compulsory system - the interpretation favored and adopted in Sweden.

The emphasis on recurrence emerged through the work of Kallen and Bengtsson who together produced the 1973 OECD report, **Recurrent Education : A Strategy for Lifelong Learning.** They defined recurrent education as

> a comprehensive educational strategy for all post-compulsory or post-basic education, the essential characteristic of which is the distribution of education over the total lifespan of the individual in a recurring way, i.e., in alternation with other activities, principally with work, but also with leisure and retirement, (OECD, 1973:24).

This definition contains two essential elements. First, it offers an alternative educational strategy to the conventional concentration of all formal and full-time education in youth, thus accepting the principle of lifelong learning. Second it proposes a framework within which lifelong learning will be organized. This is the alternation and effective interaction between education (as a structured learning situation) and other social activities through which learning occurs.

In arguing for closer integration and linkage between education and economic systems by enhancing the scope for individual choice the report cited a number of problems with the present system. These included a sense of alienation reflected in an increasing incidence of dropouts, undesirable social consequences of extended segregation, underemployment of highly qualified individuals, obsolescence of skills, and the educational disadvantage of older groups.

Recurrent education is described in the report as a comprehensive alternative strategy to coordinate:

> a. the conventional post-secondary educational system. . . ;
> b. on-the-job training of all kinds and at all levels. . . ;
> c. adult education in the more limited sense of the vast and manifold array of educational provisions for adults, which is mainly "information-culture" or "general-education" oriented, (OECD, 1973:25).

A checklist of eight principles, upon which a recurrent system of education would be based, were contained in the report, as follows, (OECD, 1973:28)

> (a) the last two years of compulsory education should provide a curriculum that gives each pupil a real choice between further study and work;
>
> (b) access to post-compulsory education should be guaranteed at any time after leaving compulsory schooling;
>
> (c) distribution of facilities should be such as to make education available to all individuals, whenever and wherever they need it;
>
> (d) work and other social experience should be regarded as a basic element in admission rules and curriculum design;
>
> (e) it should be possible and important to pursue any career in an intermittent way, meaning an alternation between study and work;
>
> (f) curricular design and content and teaching methodology should be designed in cooperation with the different interest groups involved, and adapted to the interests and motivation of different age and social groups;
>
> (g) degrees and certificates should not be looked upon as an "end result" of an educational career but rather as steps and guides towards a process of lifelong education and lifelong career and personality development; and

(h) on completion of compulsory school each individual should be given a legal right to periods of educational leave of absence without risking the loss of his job and social security.

Houghton and Richardson (1974:7) provided an alternative arrangement of "features which will be deemed essential for a recurrent education system."

First, recurrent education should be available throughout the life span in a manner where choice is maximized.

Second, access to recurrent education "should aim at provision for all members of the community, especially those excluded from current practice," (Houghton and Richardson, 1974:7). The authors maintained that access can be facilitated by ensuring adequate time is made available to develop societal and personal skills. Houghton and Richardson (1974:7) also argued that access should involve participation in design by the different interest groups, and that bureaucratic control "which has arisen because of the fragmentation of knowledge into narrow specialisms" be diminished.

Third, recurrent education should facilitate the development of autonomous learners and the integration of learning and career choice and contain provision for dealing with economic, social and psychological problems.

The OECD (1973) checklist and the essential features described by Houghton and Richardson (1974:7) indicate the main attributes and characteristics of recurrent education. Although it seems that no existing education system is likely to rate as a "pure model", Duke (1982) suggests that all education systems in industrialized countries display some of these characteristics. He contends that further movement in a somewhat piecemeal fashion towards more comprehensive systems of recurrent education will take place. He reasons that this is due to the apparent moderateness of the concept. The failure of existing strategies to deal adequately with equalizing educational opportunity, lessening the social and financial cost of drop-outs, and the imbalance of supply and demand of qualified manpower were also suggested as reasons for such movement.

When one considers the characteristics and aims of recurrent education in general terms, one could suggest that recurrent education may be able to rally a diversity of supporters from those interested in manpower planning to those who wish progressive reformation of the formal education system. Duke (1982:329) contends that "This is seen as a demonstration of intrinsic value, integrity, and utility, or, alternatively, as formlessness and lack of substance."

That recurrent education is an evolving concept is shown in the 1975 OECD report, **Recurrent Education Trends and Issues**. This report presents a rationale for recurrent education in terms of both effectiveness and equity as well as the changing nature and requirements of the world of work. It emphasizes that recurrent education policy must be linked to other social policy measures such as social insurance, pension arrangements and child care facilities. The report proposed an agenda for the future, calling for: coordination and consultation between sectors and policies, appropriate budget strategies, assured continued access to learning for the 16 - 19 age group, new policies on admission and certification, retraining of educational personnel, the provision of workplace counsellors, and more direct engagement with employment policies.

The 1975 trends and issues paper favors the greater integration of the education and employment systems but points out that due to the interplay between a plurality of interests consensus upon the nature of such an integration should not be implied. The report (OECD,1975) concludes:

> If the consequences are accepted of a decision genuinely to enable people to learn throughout their lives through an alternation between education and work, there are some far-reaching implications for social change. On the other hand, recurrent education's potential as an agent for social change is dependent on the aims of those who determine its implementation, and such aims may be to conserve existing institutions and existing power structures.

In a similar way, Duke (1982:339) warns that recurrent education might become a disembodied ideal:

> Far from equalizing opportunity through a second and subsequent chances for the disadvantaged, recurrent education may provide merely a second creaming . . . further entrench[ing] the advantage of well-educated beneficiaries of the present system.

Duke (1982:339) adds further that recurrent education might also mean "the abdication of responsibility by the educationists, enslaving education to manpower planners and employers," where "narrow skill training [is promoted] at the expense of general, liberal and civic-oriented education."

The foregoing discussion has drawn together some aspects of the development of the term recurrent education. From the reports and opinions which have been presented and the concerns which have been identified, recurrent education may be defined as an absolute value, a political idea, or as activities or processes which may possess apparently contradictory qualities. Recurrent education is idealistic and radical, yet practical and pragmatic. These contradictions and the variety of motives upon which arguments for recurrent education are based are discussed in the following section.

## Contradictions Between a Variety of Motives

Levin and Schutze (1983) suggest that the major components of recurrent education have been around for some time in the form of on-the-job training, adult education, correspondence courses, continuing education and extension courses. They propose that the reason that these components have not been welded together into an integrated system is due to the different interpretations of the term recurrent education. They suggest that the use of generalized terms like "recurrent" and "lifelong" education "tends to gloss over the great diversity in underlying approaches as well as social and educational concerns," (Levin and Schutze, 1983:11). A summary of the different motives behind arguments for recurrent education is presented in the following paragraphs.

Increasing productive efficiency. This view that recurrent education can increase productivity efficiency rests upon the assumption that worker skills have a tendency to become obsolete under conditions of rapid technological change. Recurrent education is seen as providing the flexibility for retraining workers as skill rejuvenation is needed.

Reducing Unemployment. A related motive involves the use of recurrent education to share existing jobs. In this way recurrent education is viewed as an active labour market policy which includes incentives for persons to leave the workforce to obtain further training.

Reducing Overeducation and Underemployment. This motive proceeds from the assumption that overeducation or underutilization of educated labor is a waste of resources and may be a source of social and political ferment as job expectations are not fulfilled. Recurrent education is cited to allow the opportunity for pre-employment training to be shortened, and for subsequent training to be undertaken as needs emerge.

Worker Participation. Given the assumption that working life is oppressive due to the division of labor and systems of managerial control recurrent education is seen as a way to educate workers about their responsibilities, to provide them with knowledge needed to make good decisions, and to aid in occupational advancement and personal development.

Improving Quality of Leisure. Those who hold that recurrent education can improve the quality of leisure assume that there is little hope of transforming work into a more humane activity without a large sacrifice in living standards.

Reducing Inequalities of the Disadvantaged. This view contends that recurrent education is a way through which inequalities can be redressed. Those most susceptible to unemployment would be considered as primary targets upon the assumption that recurrent education can increase their occupational and earnings mobility.

Improving Social Participation. From this perspective recurrent education would focus on persons from less advantaged educational and work backgrounds in order to increase their knowledge and participation in the political process. Such an approach may extend to programs dealing with literacy, family planning, consumer knowledge, and health and hygiene.

Rescuing Educational Institutions. In order to counteract the effects of falling enrollments recurrent education is viewed as a way to attract students. For example, through offering flexible degree requirements and an expanded range of courses, and granting credit for "life experience", institutions may hope to avoid empty classrooms and deficit budgets.

"Deschooling" the Postcompulsory System. By introducing flexibility and making the routes for occupational achievement more subject to individual demand and choice, the coercion to proceed directly to an increasingly mandatory postsecondary education will be reduced.

The considerable differences between these motives would suggest that difficulties may be created when dealing with multiple constituencies and thereby inhibit the likelihood of developing a comprehensive system of recurrent education.

The variety of motives described above may be grouped under three themes as follows:

- Labor Market and Productivity Strategies
  - Increasing Productive Efficiency
  - Reducing Unemployment
  - Reducing Overeducation and Underemployment
- Social Participation and Equity
  - Worker Participation
  - Improving Quality of Leisure
  - Reducing Inequalities of Disadvantaged
  - Improving Social Participation
- Institutional Change
  - Rescuing Educational Institutions
  - Deschooling of the Postcompulsory System

(Levin and Schutze, 1983:22).

Although taken together the above motives would also suggest that support for recurrent education would be substantial, Levin and Schutze (1983:21) argue that "paradoxically, the very diversity may be the greatest political obstacle to adoption and implementation."

Between the three themes there are substantial differences in goals and constituencies. For example a focus upon labour market and productivity may not contribute to growth in social participation and equity. Approaches designed to promote institutional change may be in conflict with labour market and productivity strategies, for instance, where the aim to rescue educational institutions is contrasted with a motive to reduce overeducation.

There is incompatibility even within the major categories. Using recurrent education to broaden the mission of postsecondary educational institutions to counteract falling enrolments is sharply contrasted with the motive of deschooling postcompulsory education.

Levin and Schutze (1983:22) illustrate conflicts which are evident in comparing the various motives and state that this situation is a major political weakness of recurrent education. They add:

> A single rubric has been used to refer to what are essentially a variety of competing and conflicting versions of lifelong education (Levin and Schutze, 1983:23).

Using the single descriptive term - recurrent education - glosses over this diversity, and as a result, support for the concept in the abstract has been received. However since any implementation requires that particular forms be adopted, Levin and Schutze (1983:23) comment that as a consequence, recurrent education "becomes a narrower concept which may support the objectives of one constituency at the expense of another." Clearly the challenge remains to forge a politically acceptable strategy for implementation.

## Obstacles To Taking The Recurrent Education Route

Disincentives for individuals to undertake the recurrent education route are cited by several authors.

Higher unemployment among individuals who have not completed high school, or who do not possess a college degree is a major disincentive to forego the traditional progression to postcompulsory education. These unemployment statistics encourage young people to improve their employment possibilities through taking a college degree prior to entering the labour market. Rumberger (1981) reports that this course is followed in spite of the problems of "overeducation and underemployment" faced by those with college degrees.

Timmermann (1983) suggests that several types of variables have an influence on participation in recurrent education activities. First, there are ascriptive factors such as race, sex, ethnic origin and age. Second, the prospects for promotion are said to be important determinants of participation. This argument refers to the position of the potential learner on the job ladder and the segment of the labour market in which he or she is situated. Timmermann (1983) reports that, in this context, some researchers have described a range of jobs using the terms "recurrent education value" or "recurrent education closeness" to reflect different degrees of participation.

For example, Brown (1982) argues that jobs which are available to untrained youth are essentially "dead-end" positions with little opportunity to undertake further training. He cites positions in fast-food restaurants as typical examples. Whereas fast-food preparation in the past meant that individuals may develop skills as short-order cooks, he suggests that this is not likely today. The nature of the technology employed in these places has resulted in the need to perform relatively fewer and simpler labour operations which can be overseen by a smaller number of supervisors.

In a similar vein Levin and Schutze (1983:24) express the concern that

> The most extensive training programs are generally provided for persons who have already acquired considerable formal education, generally at least at the level of a university degree.

This statement highlights possible imbalances in the amount of funds which a company may typically allocate to job development.

Third, variables related to social background are suggested to affect participation levels. Timmermann (1983:103) contends

> The most common of these variables seem to be the education, social status, profession, income, and wealth of the potential learner as well as the number and kind of recurrent education activities he or she has already experienced.

A fourth set of variables, drawn from the human capital theory perspective, are said to be important in encouraging participation. These are the likelihood of the improvement of income or the expected rate of return from an investment in recurrent education.

The attitude of individuals towards mobility and change may be a fifth factor affecting participation. A sixth factor relates to the organization of work where the individuals' access to recurrent education activities may be affected by engaging in shift work, part-time work, or flexible work-time schedules.

Seventh, the nature of the activities themselves are suggested as a factor which may motivate or discourage individuals from undertaking recurrent education. The duration, content, time schedule, location and variety of courses are important characteristics in this regard. Timmermann (1983:103) presents these further aspects which may affect participation :

> the mode of regulation of access, eligibility and admission rules, the degree of participation and learner influences on the activities, and the certification and transferability of credits.

Finally the form and amount of the financial contribution is believed to have considerable influence on the willingness and ability of individuals to participate in recurrent education. Jackson and Weatherby (1975), not surprisingly, suggest that higher subsidies and lower personal contributions are more likely to encourage participation.

Clearly this sample of obstacles serves to illustrate the problems associated with promoting a system of recurrent education.

When one considers the problematic nature of the recurrent education concept and the obstacles which confront individuals as they consider taking the recurrent education route, it is evident that the development of a comprehensive recurrent education policy is a complex undertaking. It is likely to involve the generation of considerable tension between different constituencies, and to require trade-offs among various motives.

## Recurrent Education Policy As A Tension-Generating Force

Levin (1977:10) defines educational policy as

> those activities that encompass the analysis, formulation, and implementation of the purposive operations of the educational sector as well as the ideology that is supported by those actions.

In citing the failure of educational and training programs to effectively address problems of poverty and inequality of income, Levin (1977) argues that educational policy should begin to recognize explicitly how closely its capabilities are tied to the conditions of society as a whole. These sentiments echo the view of the 1975 OECD report, described earlier, which called for a greater integration of the education and employment systems. The way in which these systems are integrated raises issues of contradictory motives and the tensions which emerge in dealing with these contradictions.

## Smith's Policy Implementation Model

Smith (1973) states that policy is an attempt by a government to induce changes. Presumably such attempts are grounded upon careful analysis and formulation, and also, as Levin (1977) would suggest, the ideological stance of that government. In Smith's terms, tensions are a likely and natural result of attempts to induce change. He states that "policy formulated by a government serves as a tension-generating force in society," (Smith, 1973:202).

Tensions are said to exist within and between the idealized policy, the implementing organization, the target group(s), and the various environmental factors. Smith (1977:202) has developed a model of the policy implementation process to show the interrelationships between these various sources of tensions, as follows:

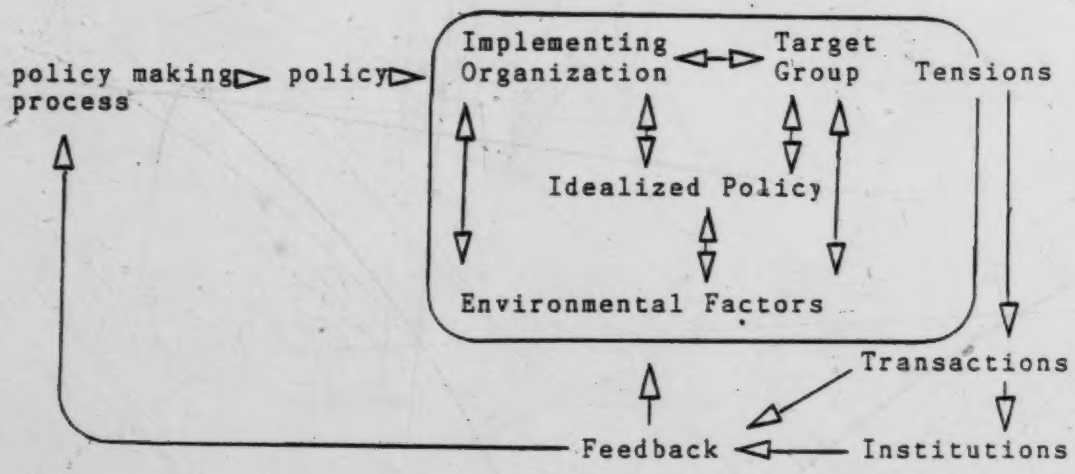

policy making process
policy
Implementing Organization
Target Group
Tensions
Idealized Policy
Environmental Factors
Transactions
Feedback
Institutions

Figure 2.1 Smith's Model of the Policy Implementation Process

The idealized policy has several components: the formal or stated policy, the policy type (complex or simple, distributive or regulative, emotive or symbolic), the intensity of support by government for the policy programs, and the image invoked by the policy.

Both Levin (1977) and Smith (1973) emphasize that the influence of environmental factors is highly significant. They suggest that factors in the environment contribute strongly to the success or failure of particular policies and tend to favor the needs of some interest groups over others. For these reasons Smith (1973) has incorporated environmental factors which he contends consist of social, cultural, economic and political dimensions. Similarly Levin (1977) has expressed the influence of the environment in terms of the role of the polity once again referring to the social, cultural, economic and political characteristics of the society.

Smith's model, depicting the interrelationships between variables in the policy implementation process, highlights the various tensions which may emerge.

### Selection of an Equity Principle

Thomas (1980) suggests that equity may be interpreted from at least two perspectives. The first concerns "the avoidance of arbitrary discrimination against individuals and groups," (Thomas, 1980:246). This is often referred to as horizontal equity, or equal treatment of equals. This perspective is described by Thomas (1980:246) as opposing

> the arbitrary allocation of more or better resources to some individuals than to others who fall into roughly equivalent educational categories.

The second interpretation of equity implies that under certain circumstances "specific or even supplementary treatment [be given] to those whose problems result from social, economic, or educational deprivation," (Thomas, 1980:246). This interpretation corresponds to the notion of vertical equity, or unequal treatment of unequals.

McMahon (1982) has described the following hierarchy of equity criteria which incorporates varying degrees of horizontal and vertical equity.

First, commutative equity, as described by McMahon (1982:20), depicts the extreme case where "the state leaves undisturbed, the results of the marketplace." This criterion reflects an extremely narrow view of horizontal equity and does not include any aspects of vertical equity.

Second, fiscal neutrality involves an undertaking by government to make up the shortfall in the resources of disadvantaged groups. In this way fiscal neutrality differs from commutative equity through attempting to develop greater horizontal equity.

Third, proportionality exhibits qualities of vertical equity, in addition to the horizontal equity aspects of fiscal neutrality, by applying "equal effective tax rates in relation to ability to pay, and benefits that are proportional to need. . . ," (McMahon, 1982:21).

Fourth, positivism aims at the elimination of intergenerational inequity through an approach based upon instituting progressive tax rates on both taxes and benefits, and affirmative action. Such an approach focuses strongly upon the vertical equity perspective. The "equal sacrifice equal benefit" doctrine, which assumes diminishing marginal utility of incomes and benefits, is suggested by McMahon (1982:22) as aiding the application of positivism. Although he adds that in reality there seems to be little adherence to this doctrine.

McMahon (1982:7) argues that "the achievement of greater distributive justice . . . is impeded by the inability to be sure that gain to Group A exceeded damage to Group B." He adds that the overriding objectives of educational policy decisions should be to promote "growth of actual earnings, a growth of non-monetary returns, and a more equitable distribution of income," (McMahon, 1982:2). Herein lies the potential for educational policy to generate tension as these objectives may possibly be in conflict.

The selection of an equity principle involves delicate political and ethical judgements. From the perspective of Smith's model (1977), the selection of an equity principle would be apparent in the nature of the idealized policy. Tensions may emerge where that idealized policy does not align with the needs or aspirations of target groups. Further tensions may arise between the implementing organization and the government where the idealized policy, in addressing problems of target groups, is seen to do so at the expense of benefits to that implementing organization. This situation may arise where a government requires that employers contribute an unreasonable amount of their resources to recurrent education activities.

## Schuller's Listing of Recurrent Education Policy Tensions

Schuller (1978) has applied the notion of tensions to the recurrent education policy context. The tensions which he discussed provide useful examples for the application of Smith's Model. Furthermore Schuller, by recognizing the interdisciplinary nature of the recurrent education, reflects Levin's (1977) view that the capabilities of educational policy are closely tied to the prevailing polity.

The first tension, which Schuller (1978) identifies in the development of recurrent education policy, concerns the fact that for many people the motivation for, and the opportunity of resuming study, arises from their position at work and their occupation. For these people recurrent education is a way to solve problems or to increase career prospects. On the other hand, there is a need to avoid reducing recurrent education merely to a more efficient system of vocational training, ignoring the broader social considerations and personal development objectives.

Applying Smith's model, a policy focus upon work-based education for relevance may generate tension among educational institutions. It may force them to identify their position in relation to community needs. Alternatively a policy focus upon broader social issues may generate tension among the target groups. Individuals' memories of past educational experiences may act as psychological impediments to participation.

Second, the need for fresh initiatives in uncovering new ways of overcoming labour market problems and stimulating demand for education must be balanced against the dangers of allowing unbridled entrepreneurialism. Schuller (1978:30) describes this tension in stating:

> the problem is how to monitor quality and ensure reasonable standards without stifling initiative and enterprise in searching out new areas of need and setting up provisions to cater for them.

The relationship between the idealized policy and the actions of the implementing organizations are pertinent to this consideration. The image invoked by the policy and the intensity of support shown by the government may encourage "entrepreneurial spirit" to the extent that valid policy monitoring and evaluation is severely hampered.

A third tension refers to the desirability of maximizing choice and offering as diverse a range of options as possible versus the need for coherence in what is offered and for an acceptably rationalized system of provision.

Tension in this instance emerges through the interrelationship of the target groups with the idealized policy (and to some degree, the implementing organization). Too many choices may be dysfunctional and bewildering particularly for disadvantaged groups as they attempt to acquire course information. Possible lack of coherence may present further problems in that the progression, or the transferability of credits from one course to another, may be unclear. From a postsecondary educator's point of view, this presents similar problems. It suggests the need for extensive coordination to accompany initiatives fostering maximum choice.

Fourth, Schuller (1978) discusses the tension between pursuing an overall commitment to the implementation of a recurrent education strategy, reflected by an explicit plan versus the adoption of a more piecemeal approach, relying more upon autonomous initiatives.

Schuller (1978:40) contends that approach may lead to more rapid progress "as groups or organizations push ahead . . . without having to wait for an overall scheme for which it may be difficult to win general consent." A critical question is how far the need for coordination is seen as extending.

Schuller (1978) stresses that communication should take place: horizontally, for example between departments of education and labour, vertically between various policy-making levels, and between the government and the range of interested parties. He further adds that these various types of communication "involve all sorts of tensions and contradictions whose resolution is unlikely to conform to all the protagonists notions of optimal choice" (Schuller, 1978:40). This viewpoint closely parallels the contentions of Levin and Schutze (1983) expressed earlier in this discussion.

Questions as to who is to be involved and who is to be excluded from the policy process are central to the issues of coordination. Schuller (1978:43) continues:

> coordination is not the technical process of discovering single, optimal solutions which satisfy everyone, but a negotiating operation which will involve at times hard bargaining and contests of strength.

The significance of this statement pervades Smith's model, particularly with regard to the influence of the environmental factors upon the policymaking process and the idealized policy.

The adoption of a piecemeal approach focuses attention on the power of particular interest groups to have their needs served. It reflects a conception of public policy as essentially the development of effective instruments for regulating the interplay between the various interest groups. The degree to which these instruments serve the interests of certain groups gives indications regarding the image and type of policy adopted and the power of those interest groups in shaping the policymaking process.

A similar tension to that relating to the adoption of an overall versus piecemeal approach, concerns the balance between coordination and what Schuller (1978) has termed "bureaucratic overkill." He considers that tight coordination between education, labour market and social policies may discourage the involvement of employers and educational institutions.

In attempting to relate education policy with labour market and other social policies, a potential source of tension exists in the distinction, which various government bodies make, between "coordination" and "subordination". Schuller (1978:45) comments that when one tries to give coordination an operational meaning

> it may well prove to be a far from smooth process and to throw up all sorts of issues which are not amenable to "orthodox" planning techniques.

This does not imply that attempts at coordination are futile; but that one must recognize that such attempts are susceptible to being drowned in a "sea of red tape", the victim of bureaucratic overkill. In Smith's model, this tension emerges within the idealized policy itself.

## Approaches to Policy Monitoring

### Dunn's General Framework for Monitoring

Monitoring is defined by Dunn (1981:286) as

> the process of obtaining policy-relevant information to measure changes in goal-focused social conditions, both objective and subjective, among various target groups and beneficiaries.

To approach the task of monitoring policy outcomes, Dunn (1981:286) has developed the general framework, shown in Figure 2.2.

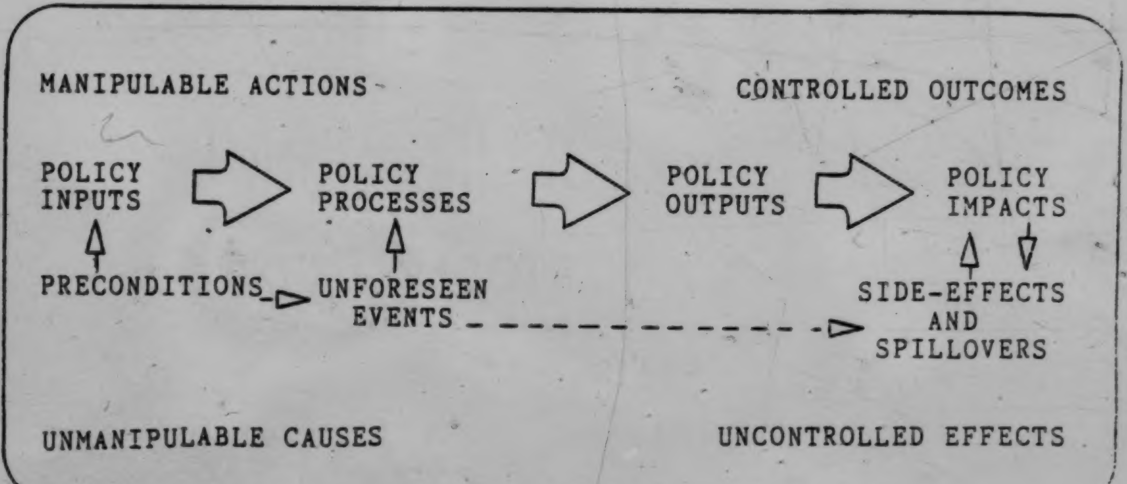

MANIPULABLE ACTIONS
CONTROLLED OUTCOMES
POLICY INPUTS
POLICY PROCESSES
POLICY OUTPUTS
POLICY IMPACTS
PRECONDITIONS
UNFORESEEN EVENTS
SIDE-EFFECTS AND SPILLOVERS
UNMANIPULABLE CAUSES
UNCONTROLLED EFFECTS

Figure 2.2 Dunn's General Framework for Monitoring

Dunn's framework represents policy monitoring as the process of obtaining information about manipulable actions and controlled outcomes, while recognizing and gauging the influence of unmanipulable causes and uncontrolled effects.

Dunn (1981:280-282) has described the components of this framework as follows:

> Policy inputs are the resources - time, money, personnel, equipment, supplies - used to produce outputs and impacts.
>
> Policy processes are the administrative, organizational and political activities and attitudes that shape the transformation of policy inputs into policy outputs and impacts.
>
> Policy outputs are the goods, services, or resources received by target groups and beneficiaries.
>
> Policy impacts . . . are actual changes that result from policy outputs.

Dunn's framework emphasises that, in assessing the outcomes of a policy, attention must be paid to policy inputs and processes as well as preconditions, unforeseen events, side-effects, and spillovers. Aspects relating to previous training agreements would be considered as preconditions while changes in the economic and political environment represent examples of unforeseen events. Both these factors may enhance or inhibit policy outcomes. Dunn (1981) argues that only through taking all these components into account is one able to attempt an explanation of policy outcomes.

While comprehensive in its depiction of major factors, Dunn's model, as a general framework, cannot describe the specific nature of those factors as they apply to a particular policy study. To adapt this framework to the study of CJS, elements from Colvin's 1975 study of federal and Alberta manpower policies, and Timmermann's (1983) listing of criteria for assessing financing mechanisms, have been drawn together.

## Colvin's Policy Implementation Model

Colvin (1975) recognized the policy implementation phase to be critical, and introduced a conceptual model derived from the work of Bunker and Smith (both cited in Colvin, 1975). Colvin (1975:80) applied Bunker's idea that policy implementation processes "need to focus on relationships, the articulation of policy, and the incentives and tasks. . . ." He further commented that

> Smith's model, concerned with policy implementation through the use of concepts such as idealized policy, transaction patterns and target groups, provided a basis for the development of the conversion mechanisms.

Colvin's (1975:81) model is shown in Figure 2.3. This model is less comprehensive than Dunn's general framework. Policy outputs and impacts are not made explicit although these aspects may be inferred by the incorporated feedback loop. Colvin's depiction of the "stated federal and provincial policies" as the sole inputs to the system infers a reasonably narrow conception in view of Dunn's interpretation of policy inputs. The model also intimates a closed system approach where little regard is paid to preconditions, unforeseen events and side-effects which one may ascribe as evidence of the influence of the environment.

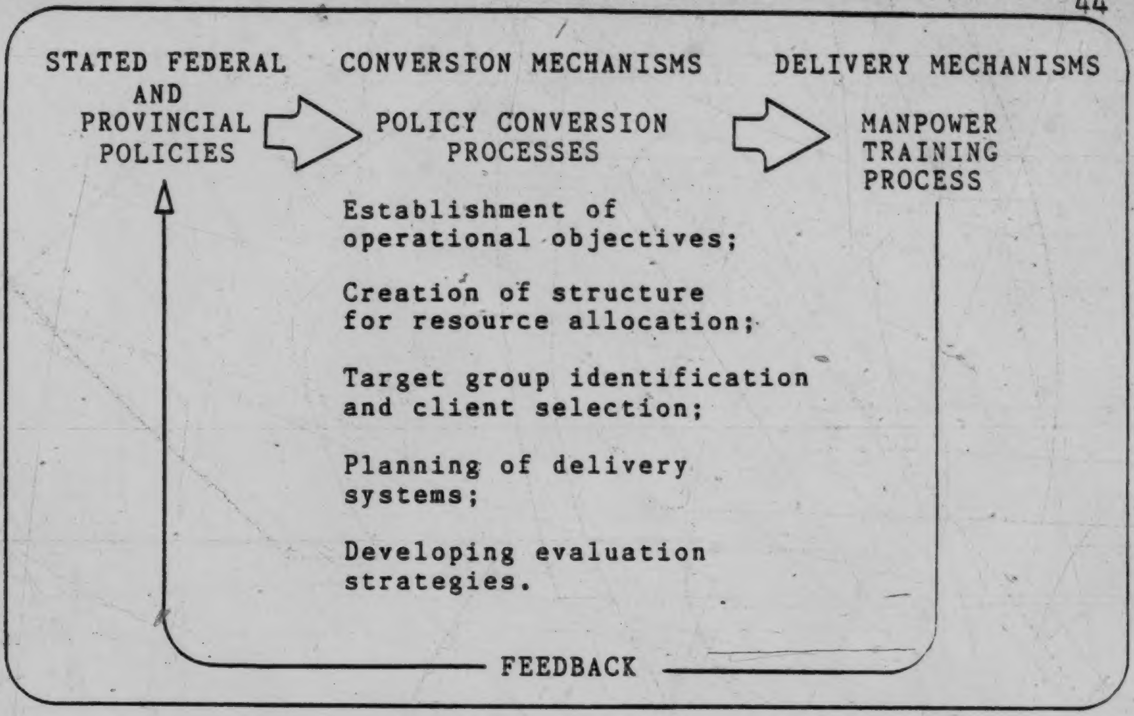

STATED FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL POLICIES
CONVERSION MECHANISMS
POLICY CONVERSION PROCESSES
Establishment of operational objectives;
Creation of structure for resource allocation;
Target group identification and client selection;
Planning of delivery systems;
Developing evaluation strategies.
DELIVERY MECHANISMS
MANPOWER TRAINING PROCESS
FEEDBACK

Figure 2.3 Colvin's Policy Implementation Model.

Furthermore, in separating conversion mechanisms and delivery mechanisms, Colvin (1975:81) has made a somewhat confusing distinction. Both mechanisms refer to policy processes. Using Dunn's (1981) definition of policy processes, it would seem that delivery mechanisms are part of the wider policy conversion or transformation process, not, as Colvin has suggested, separate from it.

Nevertheless, Colvin's (1975:81) listing of elements of the policy conversion process does add important detail. Some elements have been included in the Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework shown in Figure 3.1.

## Timmermann's Criteria for Evaluating Financing Mechanisms

The various criteria, proposed by Timmermann (1983:99-105) for evaluating financing plans for recurrent education are presented for consideration.

The first criterion suggested is "encouraging recurrence." The replacement of traditional schooling patterns with a flexible alternation of education and work represents the focus of this criterion. Fostering the development of part-time or flexible work structures, and inducing educational institutions to offer recurrent education activities are viewed as measures of "encouraging recurrence."

Timmermann (1983) explains that his second criterion "increasing efficiency" refers to internal as well as external aspects. Internal efficiency refers to

> optimizing the organization and mode of production within the education industry by choosing cost-minimizing combinations of production factors . . . [as well as] the matter of output quality - in other words, teaching content, (Timmermann, 1983:100).

External efficiency concerns the manner and the extent to which educational resources are used to reduce and/or prevent unemployment. Flexibility of the labour force is regarded by Timmermann (1983) to reflect external efficiency.

The third criterion "encouraging innovations" refers to the degree to which finance plans foster educational innovations. Timmermann (1983:101) argues that

> Some innovations can be easily sold in the educational market place and aim at increasing the market value of human capital (marketable innovations). Others may have a low value in the market place but a high social value.

While these opinions appear to be reasonable, a single causal relationship between finance plans and educational innovations which is implied under "encouraging innovations" seems doubtful. The alternate view would be that educational innovations are re-affirmed and legalized by finance systems, not caused by them.

Fourth, the criterion "encouraging marketable skills", describing the extent to which the system produces marketable skills or nonmarketable skills seems problematic. Reports from the OECD/CERI project, Changes in Work Patterns: Their Educational Implications (OECD,1985) indicate that marketable skills are changing continuously. Consequently the skills of today may only remain "marketable" for a limited amount of time. Hence, a system deemed successful in the short term may, in fact, have failed. Clearly, the problem with this criterion is in defining the nature of marketable skills.

Timmermann (1983) contends that overcoming the segregation of vocational training and general education, and the lack of coordination among the diversity of post-compulsory education activities represent important tasks in the development of a comprehensive financing systems. The fifth criterion "encouraging integration" concerns the degree to which this task is accomplished.

"Encouraging individual choice and personal development" is a criterion which focuses upon the degree to which financing plans foster

> personality enrichment and self-development, self-determination and self-responsibility, self-independence and self-control, democratization of educational decisions, and individual participation in shaping recurrent education activities, (Timmermann, 1983:102).

Timmermann (1983) introduces this sixth criterion as a means of highlighting the extent to which individual choice and freedom are evidenced in financing mechanisms.

Variables such as age, sex, ethnic origin, career and promotion perspectives, social background, expected rate of return, the attitude of individuals towards change, the organization of work , the recurrent education activities themselves, and the form and amount of financial contribution are proposed by Timmermann (1983) to influence participation and demand for recurrent education. Under the theme of promoting equality of educational opportunity, the seventh and eighth criteria are suggested. These are "encouraging demand for recurrent education" and "increasing equality of participation in postcompulsory education and training."

Matters of social and economic equity provide the focus for the ninth criterion "equalizing the distribution of recurrent education implications." Timmermann (1983:104) defines this criterion to include

> equity among regions in the distribution of recurrent education activities, [and] equity of the financial burden between individuals, social classes, and generations.

Democratization of education and work is a further theme introduced by Timmermann (1983) to evaluate financing plans. He suggests that fostering democracy in the workplace can be done indirectly by financing recurrent education models which encourage activities that are likely to enforce social cohesion and integration of different social groups. "The preservation and enforcement of social cohesion" is the tenth criterion put forward by Timmermann (1983).

Finally, Timmermann (1983:105) claims that

> Some politicians and researchers are also concerned with the extent to which different financing schemes are likely to increase the total costs of education as well as specifically the burden upon the public budget.

To address these issues an eleventh criterion "increasing total costs of education" and a twelfth criterion "increasing state budget burden for education" are proposed.

The foregoing listing indicates a diversity of criteria which may be used to assess the outcomes of CJS. Clearly some criteria may lend themselves more easily to measurement than others.

## Notions of Politics and Political Systems

Scribner and Englert (1977:22) suggest that "every society has a number of valued things that are scarce enough to be a source of potential conflict among its members."

As a consequence they argue that

> To avert chaos, society sets up mechanisms to make decisions (that is, allocations) that members of society will find acceptable (that is authoritative), (Scribner and Englert, 1977:22).

When individuals attempt to influence these authoritative allocations, they are said to be exhibiting "political" behavior.

The definition of politics offered by Scribner and Englert (1977) is based on the principle of scarcity and the conflict which may result in dealing with such scarcity. They contend that politics is "the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values," (Scribner and Englert, 1977:22).

Similar interpretations of "politics" are given by Iannacone, (1967,1980). For example, Iannacone (1967:4) suggests that politics is

> that segment of social life involving the activities and relationships of individuals, groups, and associations resulting, or intended to result in, decisions by any governmental policy-making body.

In a later article, Iannacone (1980:200) develops this viewpoint in stating that "politics is the conduct of public affairs." He adds that this definition refers to the essence of the political act which he describes as "the struggle of men and groups to secure the authoritative support of the government for their values," (Iannacone, 1980:200). Like Scribner and Englert (1977), Iannacone (1980:200) views politics as "the management of conflicts about the allocation of value. . . ."

The way in which conflicts or potential conflicts are managed may be investigated by applying the notion of the political system. Such a system would incorporate the following components: inputs (in the form of demands and supports), conversion mechanisms, outputs (or authoritative allocations), changes or impacts resulting from those decisions, and feedback mechanisms by which those impacts may result in new demands or support.

Burlingame (1977:237) warns that political systems may possess few rational or hierarchial characteristics such as "tight linkages among inputs, conversion processes, and outputs. . . ." Instead, he argues that the concept of a negotiated order, better characterizes the relationships between individuals and governments.

Kaufman (cited in Iannacone, 1980:193) offers a similar viewpoint in contending that relations among levels of government

> are more like a tangled web of rubber bands - intricate, elastic, capable of accommodating all sorts of pressures yet retaining their shape, under the tension of many forces and counter forces, and very taut much of the time.

While it is recognized that political controversies may not be explainable through simply rational means, the political systems concept does offer a way of interpreting such phenomena. It may provide a basis upon which to unravel that "tangled web of rubber bands."

Directing concern towards the kinds and amount of influence which are exercised is a possible route to understanding the relationships between the resource inputs, conversion processes, outputs, and impacts.

## Models of Politics

These models of politics represent differing perspectives of the way influence over the authoritative allocation of values is exercised.

### Resource Dependency

Resource dependency is a model which suggests that politics is a function of the dependency of individuals or groups on external resources. Weeres (1984:9) describes this model in stating :

> The greater the need for the resource, and the larger the amount of the resource provided, the greater the dependency.

## Competitive Isomorphism

A related model through which to interpret the research findings is competitive isomorphism. Weeres (1984:11) explains that

> isomorphism is a constraining process that makes organizations operating in the same environments similar in structure, function and policy.

He further adds that

> competitive isomorphism results when organizational environments select out less efficient forms or when organizational executives learn to optimize their organization to compete efficiently in these environments.

This perspective offers a way of viewing the collective response of various interest groups to government policy. The degree of similarity in their response initiative may be a surrogate measure of their relative resource dependency.

## Competing Definitions of Policy and Theories of Government Action

Levin's (1977) definition of policy, cited earlier in this chapter, draws attention to the importance of ideology as it directs and is supported by government activities. His definition serves as a basis upon which to consider the ideas of Mitchell (1985).

Through examining various ideologies relating to the role of government in coping with fundamental human problems, Mitchell (1985) suggests that four divergent interpretations of policy emerge. These four interpretations result from the intersection of two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the question whether

> governments are primarily cooperative social service agencies (helping to achieve social goals that would be impossible to reach through private actions alone) . . . [or] pre-eminently conflict management mechanisms (mediating and controlling social conflicts that would otherwise be overly destructive), (Mitchell, 1985:30).

The second dimension pertains to whether

> governmental actions are thought to support the achievement of social purposes directly, or only to fulfil social purposes indirectly by stimulating or restraining the actions of private citizens, (Mitchell, 1985:30).

The following four interpretations represent specific forms of Levin's (1977) more general definition. The forms reflect particular ideological biases with respect to the dimensions which have been described.

First, the structuralist conception of policy emphasizes the reduction of conflict through direct public control and defines policy as "what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes," (Dye, cited in Mitchell, 1985:30). Mitchell (1985:31) suggests that policy, from a structuralist's perspective, can produce "a proper distribution of political power, that will lead to the elimination of social conflict." In this way, Mitchell (1985) concludes, structural theories give prominence to equity.

Second, the functionalist view of policy focuses on the "cooperative development of direct services to pursue specific public purposes or goals," (Mitchell, 1985:31). Government action from this perspective involves the definition and articulation of public purposes, and the generation of government programs, "rather than regulating private actions or social institutions," (Mitchell, 1985:31).

Third, Mitchell (1985:32) cites Ripley's work in describing the conception of policy, from the point of view of exchange theory, as follows - "the regulation of private activity through subsidy, regulation or manipulation." Policy is seen as a way to influence conflict indirectly by controlling the conditions for citizens' private choices.

Fourth, the interactionist conception of policy is outlined by Mitchell (1985:32) as

> indirect encouragement of cooperative action by private citizens . . . [assuming] that policy has its effects by controlling how individuals and groups define the problems which they face.

Mitchell (1985:32) cites the definition offered by the National Academy of Education as typical of the interactionist perspective, as follows:

> the conscious attempt of officials, legislators, and interested publics to find constructive responses to the needs and pathologies which they observe in their surrounding culture.

These four definitions of policy and theories of government action are diagrammed in Figure 2.4.

Theories of Government

| | Conflict Management | Service Delivery |
|---|---|---|
| | Presume Scarcity and try to Manage Conflict | Tackle Scarcity in order to Reduce Conflict |
| Theories of direct public control | **STRUCTURALISM**<br>('what governments do'- Dye, 1972) | **FUNCTIONALISM**<br>('proposed course of action . . . to reach a goal' - Freidrick, 1963) |
| Theories of indirect public support for private action | **EXCHANGE THEORY**<br>('Regulation of private activity' through subsidy, regulation, or manipulation' - Ripley, 1966) | **INTERACTIONISM**<br>('Conscious attempt . . . to find constructive responses to problems - NAE, 1969) |

Figure 2.4. Four Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Sources: Mitchell (1985:31) and Mitchell (1984:143).

## Summary

The challenges in developing a system of recurrent education are many. Recurrent education has been discussed as a problematic and evolutionary concept. It has been described as widely accepted in principle, yet displaying little integration between its major elements.

Levin and Schutze (1981) argued that this lack of integration is a result of the variety of motives behind arguments for recurrent education. They contended that any translation of the general concept to actual policy may support the objectives of one constituency at the expense of another. Consequently attempts to develop more comprehensive recurrent education policy are politically volatile undertakings.

The obstacles which confront individuals as they consider taking the recurrent education route were presented as further challenges in developing recurrent education policy.

In considering the arguments of Levin and Schutze a closer examination of the possible tensions which may emerge through the development and implementation of recurrent education policy was undertaken. Smith's (1973) model of policy implementation was used as a basis upon which to consider the problems associated with the selection of an equity principle, and the tensions outlined by Schuller (1978). This allowed the challenges to developing recurrent education policy to be portrayed in more explicit terms than through the general consideration given by Levin and Schutze.

To provide some basis upon which to examine how and to what extent particular recurrent education policies may reflect the motives of various constituencies, Dunn's (1981) general framework for monitoring was explained and compared and contrasted with Colvin's (1975) policy implementation model. In addition, Timmermann's (1983) criteria for assessing financing mechanisms were presented as a means of classifying policy outcomes.

By adapting Dunn's (1981) monitoring framework and incorporating elements from Colvin's (1975) model and Timmermann's (1983) listing of criteria explanation of the causes and consequences of recurrent education policy may be attempted. In Chapter 3, these components are combined to constitute the Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework.

Notions of politics and political systems, developed by Scribner and Englert (1977), and Iannacone [(1967) and (1980)], and models of politics proposed by Weeres (1984) were presented. In addition Mitchell's [(1984) and (1985)] theories of government action and associated definitions of policy were explained. These notions of politics and political systems, models of politics, and theories of government action were included in this review to interpret the findings arising from the monitoring process.

# CHAPTER 3

## Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework has been described by Campbell and Mazzoni (1976:5) as

> a vantage point from which to view the subject, criteria for judging what information is relevant to its study, and a device for organizing the data that are gathered.

The conceptual framework for the study contains two major components: a monitoring framework, and an interpretive framework.

The terms comprising the conceptual framework are defined in the following section.

## Definitions

This study has employed the following definitions. For the terms which are variables a constitutive definition and an operational definition have been given.

Dunn (1981:283) has distinguished between these two types of definition in stating:

> Constitutive definitions give meaning to words used to describe variables by using other synonymous words, [whereas] operational definitions give meaning to variables by specifying the operations required to experience and measure them.

### Beneficiaries

Beneficiaries are "groups for whom the effects of policy are beneficial or valuable," (Dunn, 1981:281). Possible beneficiaries of CJS include the target groups described above, as well as employers, educational institutions, the federal government and the society in general.

## Canadian Jobs Strategy

The Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) is defined as an instrument used to finance recurrent education. It consists of six programs (Job Entry, Job Development, Skill Investment, Skill Shortages, Community Futures, and Innovations). Each program includes some degree and manner of alternation between education and work. The nature of this alternation varies within and among various programs. CJS is viewed as one component of a possible recurrent education system not as a model of recurrent education in itself.

## Canadian Jobs Strategy Participants

CJS participants are employees or trainees who receive recurrent education.

## Canadian Jobs Strategy Projects

CJS projects are successful applications for funding through which one or more CJS participants receive recurrent education.

## Education

Education is defined in the 1973 OECD report as "organised and structured learning, confined to an intentionally created situation" (1973:17). Within this deliberately created organizational framework, knowledge and skills may be acquired.

## Equality of Participation

Equality of participation occurs where persons from different social, economic, educational and occupational backgrounds have the same opportunity to receive educational services. The operational definition of the degree of equality of participation is the number of CJS participants from each particular social, economic, educational, and occupational category.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Equity of the financial burden is defined through reference to the notions of horizontal and vertical equity. First in terms of horizontal equity, equity of the financial burden refers to the avoidance of arbitrary discrimination against individuals who fall into approximately equivalent socio-economic categories. Second, from a vertical equity perspective, this term includes special treatment or allowance given to those described as disadvantaged in their ability to participate in CJS programs.

The operational definition of the degree of equity of the financial burden is the relative monetary contributions of the federal government, employers, sponsors, managing coordinators, and program participants to the financing of CJS programs. The analysis of these relative contributions takes into account the nature of the particular CJS program, and the characteristics of the program participants.

## General Skills

General skills are the abilities which allow individuals to participate in a broad range of social as well as vocational activities. Basic literacy and numeracy skills would be examples of general skills.

## Learning

Learning takes place

> in all situations where man abstracts from the concrete those aspects that are general, constructs symbols that represent them, and makes them applicable to other situations . . . , (OECD, 1973:17).

Therefore learning can be distinguished from education which may be regarded as occuring only in intentionally created situations.

## Monitoring

Monitoring is defined by Dunn (1981:286) as "the policy-analytic procedure used to produce information about the causes and consequences of public policies."

## Policy

Levin (1977:10) has defined policy as

> Those activities that encompass the analysis, formulation and implementation of purposive operations . . . as well as the ideology that is supported by these actions.

## Policy Inputs

Policy inputs are defined as the resources used to produce policy outcomes. These include supports (time, money, personnel, the CJS policy documents, and Ministerial actions), demands (funding applications and claims) as well as preconditions. Policy inputs may result from impacts of earlier policy action.

## Policy Processes

Policy processes are the activities which shape the conversion of policy inputs into policy outcomes.

These include the creation and operation of structures to allocate resources as these are received as policy inputs. The evaluation of applications for funding, and monitoring activities, and the payment of claims are policy processes related to resource allocation.

Unforeseen events also have the capacity to shape the conversion of policy inputs into policy outcomes and are therefore considered to be components of the policy process.

The definition of policy processes adopted for this study extends Colvin's (1975:81) "conversion mechanisms", which translate stated policies to guidelines for program delivery, to include aspects of the delivery process itself (such as monitoring activities and payment of claims).

Policy processes are seen to involve the activities of Employment and Immigration Canada, and incorporate the interaction of this department with various target groups and beneficiaries.

## Policy Outputs

Policy outputs are "the goods, services, or resources received by target groups and beneficiaries," (Dunn, 1981:280). Information about the structure, content, operation and participants of funded projects, as well as the amounts and types of resources which are received, constituted the important policy output data for this study.

Policy Impacts

Policy impacts are defined by Dunn (1981:280) as "actual changes . . . that result from policy outputs."

Policy Outcomes

Policy outcomes are the consequences of policy and include both policy impacts and policy outputs.

Political system

A political system refers to the way in which inputs (in the form of demands and supports) are converted into outputs (or the authoritative allocations). These outputs result in certain kinds of changes (or impacts), that in turn can feed back into the political system as new demands or supports.

The research design of this study was intended to determine how, and with what consequences, certain outcome assessment criteria are satisfied. Therefore, investigating the way in which particular demands and supports are transformed into outcomes is central to ascertaining the causes of those outcomes. The political system concept provides a focus for that investigation.

Politics

Politics is defined by Scribner and Englert (1977:22) as "the set of interactions that influence and shape the authoritative allocation of values."

## Postsecondary Educators

Individuals who give instruction in community colleges, institutes of technology, and provincially administered institutions.

## Private Trainers

Individuals or groups, other than community colleges, institutes of technology, and provincially administered institutions, who provide recurrent education.

## Recurrent Education

Recurrent education is defined as

> a comprehensive educational strategy for all post-compulsory or post-basic education, the essential characteristic of which is the distribution of education over the total life-span of the individual in a recurring way, i.e. in alternation with other activities, principally with work, (OECD, 1973:24).

## Target Groups

Target groups are "individuals, communities, or organizations on whom policies are designed to have an effect. . . ," (Dunn, 1981:281). In CJS, there are two categories of target groups. In the first category are employed workers facing technological change, unemployed young people without significant work experience, women who wish to return to the workforce, and people who are chronically unemployed. In the second category are women, visible minorities, disabled persons and natives. These groups have been designated as "requiring special measures to correct traditional imbalances in the work force" (CJS, WH3494:22). Throughout the thesis, "target group participation" refers to the latter category.

### Training

Training is defined as work-oriented education.

## The Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework

The Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework focuses upon the determination and explanation of policy outcomes. It was developed through selecting and adapting elements of Colvin's policy implementation model (described in his 1975 study of Federal Alberta manpower policies), and combining those elements with Dunn's (1981) general framework for monitoring of policy outcomes.

Two types of information are included in the framework. The first type concerns information about policy outcomes (policy outputs and impacts), while the second type relates to the causes of those outcomes (policy inputs and processes). Policy inputs and policy processes are viewed to include preconditions and unforeseen events, respectively.

Information was gathered to determine how, and with what consequences, CJS as an instrument used to finance recurrent education satisfied particular outcome assessment criteria.

### Policy Outcome Assessment Criteria

These outcome assessment criteria were derived from the listing offered by Timmermann (1983) and are presented under themes developed from those proposed by Levin and Schutze (1983).

Skill Acquisition and Employment Opportunities. The criteria described under this theme reflect motives based upon the assumption that improvements in productivity and in the functioning of labour markets are likely to occur as a result of recurrent education.

"Encouraging skill acquisition" is a criterion related to the suggestion by Levin and Schutze (1983:14) that "worker skills have a tendency to become obsolete under conditions of rapid technological change". Skills can also deteriorate through disuse due to prolonged periods of unemployment.

Levin and Schutze (1983:14) highlight the economic focus of this criterion in proposing that

> recurrent education provides the flexibility for retraining workers as skill rejuvenation is needed. Such an approach can improve worker productivity and earnings as well as increase the productivity of the firm and its profitability.

Monitoring CJS with respect to this criterion involved gathering information about the types of skills in which participants received instruction and the ways in which that instruction took place. Policy impacts, related to the manner in which training was given, were assessed by analysing the responses of provincial government officials, postsecondary educators at public institutions, private training consultants, small business representatives, and other possible beneficiaries.

The criterion, "encouraging employment opportunities" is derived from the idea that recurrent education might be able to reduce or prevent unemployment. The use of recurrent education by employees to improve their position may result in job openings at lower levels in the organization. Alternatively recurrent education may be used to prevent unemployment by developing skills which allow workers to adapt to technological and market changes. From this latter perspective, Timmermann (1983:100) argues that preventative recurrent education serves an economic interest through

> minimiz[ing] the costs of structural and technological changes by ruling out or at least mitigating structural disequilibrium in labour market.

Furthermore recurrent education might encourage reemployment of individuals through the integration of appropriate off-site skill development and on-site work experience with employers who are willing to hire new staff. However employment placements are most likely to result from instruction in those skills which are needed by the employer, and to depend heavily upon general economic conditions.

The types of information gathered to investigate this criterion were: 1. ways through which individuals are reintroduced to the workplace, 2. manners in which currently employed individuals receive opportunities for continuing employment, and 3. the extent of subsequent employment.

Participation and Equity. Two criteria, "encouraging equality of participation" and "encouraging equity of the financial burden" were introduced to address this theme.

Equality of participation occurs when persons from different social, economic, educational and occupational backgrounds have the same opportunity to receive educational services. This equality of opportunity would be reflected by the relative numbers of individuals from various social, economic, educational and occupational categories. Information about the sex, ethnic origin, age, wage level, years of education, and occupation of CJS participants was gathered to investigate this criterion. Timmermann (1983), Levin and Schutze (1983), and O'Keefe (1977) suggest that these factors are important determinants of participation in recurrent education activities.

"Encouraging equity of the financial burden" was concerned with the manner and the extent to which costs associated with participation in CJS are shared between various target groups and beneficiaries. Timmermann (1983:104) contends that this criterion "brings up the 'ability to pay' versus 'pay-as-you-use' controversy." In this sense it overlaps with "encouraging equality of participation;" but is more directly focused towards the financial aspects associated with 'who pays the bill?' for participation in recurrent education activities. Of particular concern was the response of public institutions, private trainers and other interested parties to changes in the way that the federal government funded recurrent education accompanying the introduction of CJS, and as a result of its initial policy outcomes.

A second area of interest focussed upon the effects which CJS had on negotiations concerning the Canada-Alberta

Training Agreement. This agreement, governed under the National Training Act (1982) sets out the terms and conditions by which the federal government purchases training places in educational institutions in Alberta. Over these areas, information was collected about changes to the way and the extent to which the federal government supported recurrent education as CJS was introduced. Information about the effects of those changes on subsequent policy processes was also gathered.

The relative monetary contributions of the federal government, employers, sponsors, managing coordinators, and CJS participants to various facets of program operation represent an operational definition of the degree of equity of the financial burden. This was determined through gathering information about training costs, capital costs, wages, training allowances, and other costs associated with program delivery.

## Criteria, Causes and Consequences

The Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework, shown as Figure 3.1, includes four components from Dunn's (1981) monitoring framework (policy inputs, processes, outputs, and impacts). Types of information dealing with the outcomes of CJS are listed under policy outputs and impacts. Types of information relating to the causes of those outcomes are represented under policy inputs and processes.

From considering both types of information, conclusions may be drawn as to how, and with what consequences, each outcome assessment criterion has been addressed.

The cyclical configuration of this framework incorporates the possibility that some policy impacts from previous policy action may result in subsequent policy inputs.

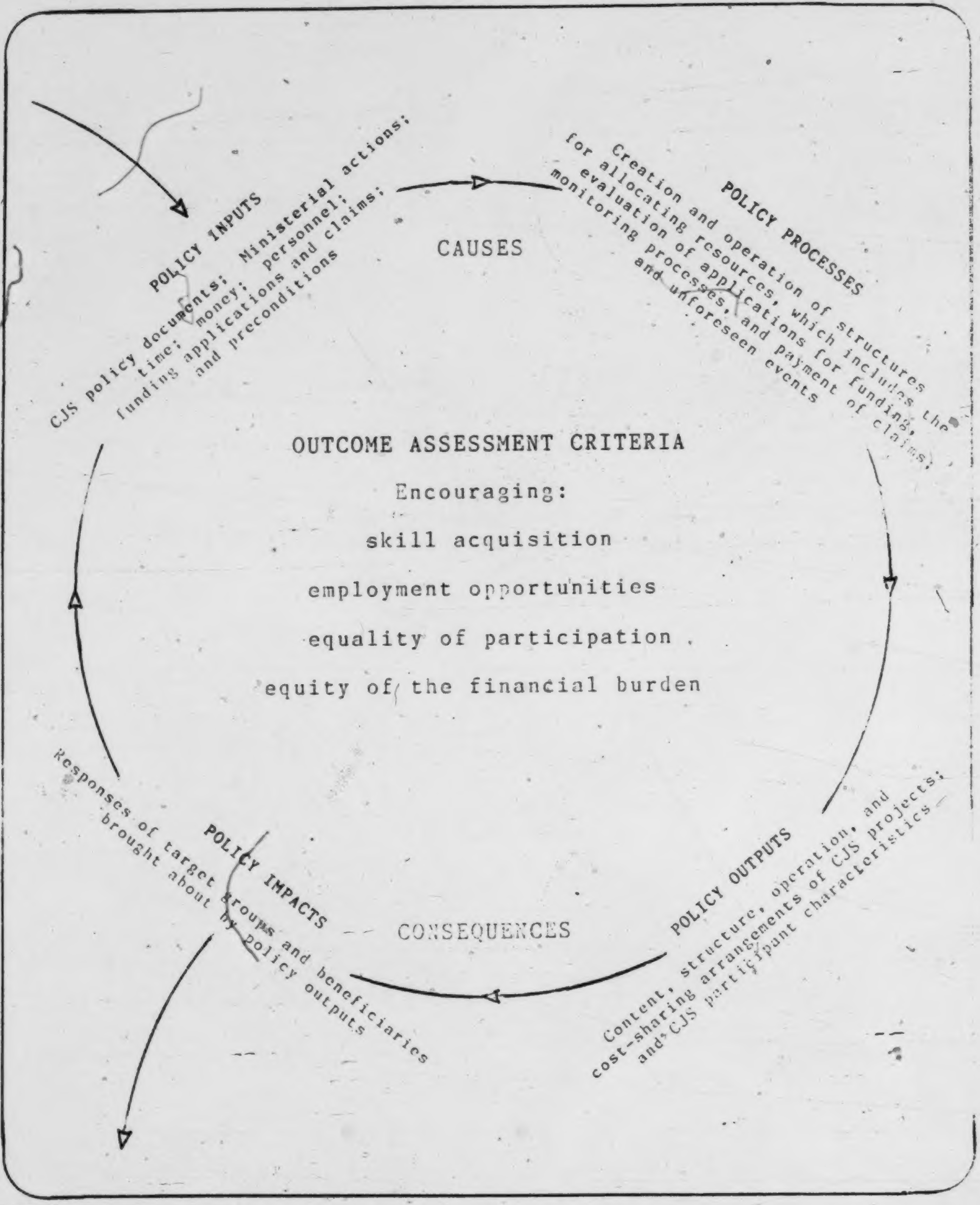

POLICY INPUTS
CJS policy documents; Ministerial actions; time; money; personnel; funding applications and claims; and preconditions
CAUSES
POLICY PROCESSES
Creation and operation of structures for allocating resources, which includes the evaluation of applications for funding, monitoring processes, and payment of claims, and unforeseen events
OUTCOME ASSESSMENT CRITERIA
Encouraging:
skill acquisition
employment opportunities
equality of participation
equity of the financial burden
POLICY OUTPUTS
Content, structure, operation, and cost-sharing arrangements of CJS projects; and CJS participant characteristics
CONSEQUENCES
POLICY IMPACTS
Responses of target groups and beneficiaries brought about by policy outputs

Figure 3.1 Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework

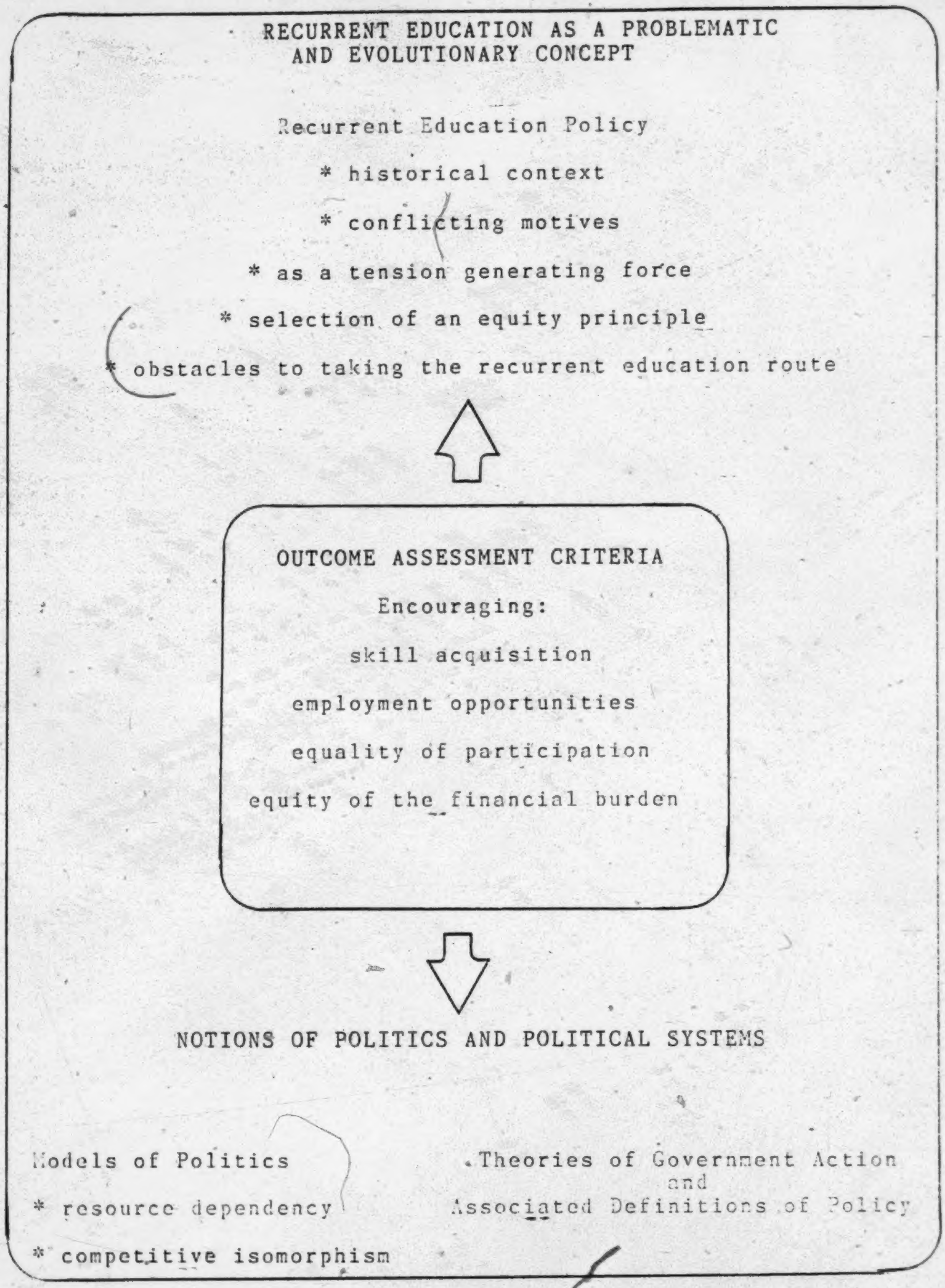
## The Canadian Jobs Strategy Interpretive Framework

Through the monitoring process, information about selected CJS policy outcomes and their causes was collected.

The Canadian Jobs Strategy Interpretive Framework, shown as Figure 3.2, illustrates the avenues through which information gathered during the monitoring process was examined.

First, information was analyzed with reference to understandings of the problematic and evolutionary nature of the recurrent education concept. This information was expected to yield insights in relation to:

1. the place of CJS within the historical context of recurrent education as reflected in the writings of Houghton and Richardson (1974) and OECD [(1973), (1975)], and the critiques of Bengtsson (1972), Duke (1982) and Kallen (1979);
2. the views of Levin and Schutze (1983) concerning contradictory motives upon which arguments for recurrent education are based;
3. the potential of recurrent education policy as a tension generating force, as proposed by Schuller (1978) and discussed in the review of literature through applying the Smith's (1973) model of the policy implementation process;
4. the equity principle(s) in operation in CJS programs, in relation to those described by McMahon (1982) and Thomas (1980), and
5. the obstacles which inhibit participation in recurrent education activities in comparison with those described by Timmermann (1983), and Levin and Schutze (1983).



RECURRENT EDUCATION AS A PROBLEMATIC AND EVOLUTIONARY CONCEPT

Recurrent Education Policy

- * historical context
- * conflicting motives
- * as a tension generating force
- * selection of an equity principle
- * obstacles to taking the recurrent education route

OUTCOME ASSESSMENT CRITERIA

Encouraging:

skill acquisition

employment opportunities

equality of participation

equity of the financial burden

NOTIONS OF POLITICS AND POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Models of Politics

- * resource dependency
- * competitive isomorphism

Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Figure 3.2 Canadian Jobs Strategy Interpretive Framework

Second, details in relation to the responses of potential beneficiaries were interpreted through reference to the models of politics (resource dependency and competitive isomorphism) discussed by Weeres (1984). Third, information about the CJS policy outcomes and causes was used as an avenue to apply the ideas of Mitchell [(1984),(1985)]. Mitchell contends that the definition of policy held by a government is reflected in its actions. The notions of politics and political systems presented by Scribner and Englert (1977) and Iannaconne [(1967),(1980)] served as a basis upon which the contentions of Weeres and Mitchell were applied to the information about policy outcomes and causes.

## Summary

In this chapter, a conceptual framework for the study has been presented. Definitions of major terms were given and used in developing the two main components of the conceptual framework: the monitoring framework (focussing on the production and classification of information about policy outcomes and causes) and the interpretive framework (providing avenues through which this information was examined).

# CHAPTER 4

## Research Methodology

The research methodology consisted of three related components:

1. The development of the research questions, and the gaining of access to information.
2. The data collection procedures and the associated research instruments.
3. The data analysis techniques.

Each of these components is described in this chapter.

### Development of the Research Questions and Access to Information

The Canadian Jobs Strategy (CJS) was suggested by D. Berghofer, Assistant Deputy Minister Program Services Division, Alberta Advanced Education, as a possible topic for research within the context of recurrent education policy. The meeting was arranged on the advice of my thesis advisor, D. A. MacKay, in late January 1986. Berghofer explained that changes to public institutional funding arrangements accompanying CJS had significant implications for the provision of occupational training and academic upgrading in Alberta.

Subsequent meetings were arranged through the assistance of Berghofer with personnel from the Planning and Further Education Branches of Alberta Advanced Education. At these meetings, held on 14 February, 27 February and 6 March 1986, I developed an elementary understanding of federal-provincial financial agreements and of negotiations related to the purchase by the federal government of training places in educational institutions in Alberta.

As a result of these discussions I became aware of some of the issues relating to CJS. These included:

1. What types of training would the federal government sponsor under CJS?

2. How would employers respond to the emphasis in CJS on participation by women, natives, visible minorities, and the disabled?

3. How would the province and its postsecondary institutions respond to the decreases of 10%, 15% and 20% over the next three years in direct federal-provincial transfers made under the National Training Act (1982)?

4. How would postsecondary institutions respond to extra funds allocated to third parties (such as employers, private consultants and non-profit groups) and available for purchasing instruction in their courses?

5. What proportion of these funds would be used to pay private trainers?

6. What would be the content and quality of training and the transferability of credentials given by these private trainers?

Further meetings were arranged with personnel from Alberta Manpower through contacts I had made at Alberta Advanced Education. At a meeting on 14 March 1986 it was suggested that the federal government might have an interest in a study done on the initial impacts of CJS. From Barry Day at Alberta Manpower, I was given the name of Shirley Robertson, Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development at the Alberta Regional Headquarters of Employment and Immigration Canada (RHQ). Shortly after, I contacted RHQ and a meeting was scheduled for 11 April 1986 at which I was to have the opportunity to present my research proposal.

Between 14 March and 11 April 1986 I developed research questions from the interview material and the literature about recurrent education. The works of Levin and Schutze (1983) and OECD [(1973), (1975)] were very influential in developing the research questions.

On 11 April 1986 at RHQ, I met with John Jackson, Programs Support Coordinator, and Nancy McAllister, an Institutional Training Consultant. I explained that I was interested in studying: (1) the types of skills in which CJS participants received training, (2) the ways in which CJS was able to reduce or prevent unemployment, (3) the characteristics of CJS participants, (4) the cost-sharing arrangements associated with CJS projects, and (5) the consequences which CJS had for the provision of recurrent education in Alberta, particularly in light of the changes to public institutional funding arrangements. Each of these five areas evolved to become the focus of a research question.

Following this meeting negotiations continued with personnel at RHQ. Meetings were held with Jackson on 29 April, 6 May, 14 May and 9 June 1986. During this time I submitted a copy of my research proposal, discussed possible sources of information, and ways in which an agreement could be reached which would serve my purposes and those of Employment and Immigration Canada.

On 11 June 1986 I attended a meeting with Robertson and Jackson at RHQ. I was informed that the nature of some of my requests for information (project files, and confidential CJS policy documents) required approval from the Deputy Minister, G. Lussier, in Ottawa. It was suggested that I send a copy of my proposal with an accompanying letter to Lussier, and the National Director of CJS, P. Hicks. I forwarded these documents shortly after the meeting. Letters in support of my request for information were sent to these individuals by S. Robertson, by D. A. Mackay as my thesis advisor, and by D. Richards as Acting Chairman of the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Alberta.

On 3 July 1986 I received news that I had been granted access to the information that I had requested. In addition, I was informed that I was to be allocated a workspace at RHQ. Four days later, I attended a meeting with Robertson, Jackson, and the managers of each branch of the Labour Market Adjustment and Development section at RHQ. I was introduced and given the opportunity to explain the purpose of my research.

I began collecting data at RHQ on 9 July 1986.

## Data Collection

The determination of how, and with what consequences CJS, as an instrument used to finance recurrent education satisfied each outcome assessment criterion required information about policy outcomes and their causes. A social auditing approach was adopted to gather this information. Dunn (1981:322) states that:

> Social auditing explicitly addresses processes by which resource inputs are transformed into outputs and impacts and may involve the use of qualitative methods designed to surface the subjective interpretations of policy processes held by stakeholders.

The research instruments used in this study facilitated a social auditing approach.

## Research Instruments

Project files. Records of CJS projects are filed at RHQ. Information in these files is compiled at RHQ as well as forwarded from local Canada Employment Centres.

The files of all CJS projects which were or had been operational to the time of monitoring, were searched. The types of files and the number of files searched, are presented in Table 4.1. These files contain several types of information. First, training plans indicate how, and in what types of skills CJS participants are to receive instruction, and the manner in which this instruction is integrated with work experience components.

Table 4.1

The Types and Numbers of Project Files Searched

| Type of File | | Number Searched[1] |
|---|---|---|
| Skill Shortages | - Workplace Based Option | 39 |
| Skill Investment | - Small Business Option | 174 |
| | - Extended Training Leave Option | 6 |
| | - Training Trust Funds | 8 |
| Job Entry | - Entry Option | 31 |
| | - Re-Entry Option | 23 |
| Job Development | - Option 1: General Projects | 126 |
| | - Option 3: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged | 13 |

[1] Only files of currently operating (active) projects were searched.

Second, client information forms detail participant characteristics such as age, educational level, occupation, wage rate, and whether the participant is a member of one of the CJS designated groups (women, natives, visible minorities, and disabled). Third, copies of the agreement between EIC and the 2nd party (employer, sponsor, managing coordinator, board of trustees or employee depending on the program) outline the cost-sharing arrangements of projects. These arrangements relate to the types and amounts of funding which EIC is to contribute. Fourth, monitoring reports which are completed by federal government personnel during and following a visit to the project site give information on how the project is proceeding. Details about matters related to instruction, cost-sharing arrangements and participant progress may be included in these reports. Fifth, various other documents may be contained in project files. Depending upon the program and the nature of individual projects, files may include monthly reports and/or letters from employers, sponsors or managing coordinators, memoranda related to that correspondence, and newspaper clippings.

Aggregated CJS data. The automated information systems of EIC provided aggregated data about the Job Entry and Job Development programs, and the Direct Purchase Option (see Appendix B). Information was gathered about the types of skills in which participants receive training, the occupation to which that training applies, participant characteristics such as age, sex and level of education, the level and types of income support which participants receive, and various cost-sharing arrangements between EIC and 2nd parties (in the case of the Job Development and Job Entry programs).

Aggregated data concerning the general structure of the labour force was collected from the Economic Services Branch at RHQ. This data included population statistics of the labour force by sex, age, education level, and occupation. This information was gathered to compare the characteristics of CJS participants and the structure of the labour force at large.

CJS policy documents. Two categories of policy documents were identified: public policy documents and confidential policy documents. Examples of public CJS policy documents were information booklets and leaflets about particular features of CJS. These documents, obtained from local CECs and RHQ, outlined the background, objectives, format and access procedures of individual program elements. Chapters of the EIC Employment Manual were also classified as public documents. Information on policy objectives and processes gleaned from these chapters was more detailed than that presented in the information booklets and leaflets.

Confidential policy documents were defined as those documents to which the public is not generally granted access. Memoranda, minutes of meetings, policy circulars and planning documents were the types of documents gathered during data collection. The memoranda included correspondence between NHQ and RHQ, within RHQ, and between RHQ and the CECs. The minutes of Minister's meetings at federal-provincial-territorial labour market conferences conducted in November 1985 were obtained from NHQ. The minutes of Review Board meetings (at which project proposals submitted for recommendation were evaluated) were drawn from the files of approved Job Entry and Job Development projects. Policy circulars, planning documents and memoranda were studied from general program files at RHQ.

Interviews with federal government personnel. These interviews took place frequently, and were often short and semi-structured. In studying project files, policy documents, and computer printouts, questions would arise and be recorded along with the name(s) of those most knowledgeable about that particular program element.

Subsequently, meetings would be arranged.

Over the data collection period the nature of these interviews changed from a clarification of program objectives and processes to a discussion of emergent issues identified through the monitoring process.

Interviews were conducted with the Regional Director General, Intergovernmental Affairs personnel, Directors of Labour Market Adjustment and Development, Branch Managers, Program Chiefs and Officers, Industrial and Institutional Training Consultants, the CJS Unit Manager in Edmonton, Program Supervisors, and Project Officers.

An organizational chart showing the relationship between these personnel is shown in Appendix C.

_Interviews with provincial government personnel_. These interviews took place during two stages. The first series occurred during the development of the research questions, and the second towards the end of data collection. Personnel from Alberta Advanced Education and Alberta Manpower (or Alberta Career Development and Employment) were interviewed. During the second series of interviews, I had the opportunity to discuss with those whom I was interviewing for the second time, any changes which had occurred since my previous meeting.

Ten interviews were conducted with provincial government personnel.

Interviews with postsecondary educators. Interviews were sought with postsecondary educators who had been recommended by federal and provincial government personnel, or who, through my search of project files, appeared to be considerably involved with CJS programming. Meetings were held with educators from the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, Westerra Institute of Technology, Grant MacEwan Community College, and the Alberta Vocation Centre, Edmonton.

Hansard. The transcripts of the House of Common Debates were searched for statements related to CJS made by the Ministers of Employment and Immigration, the Hon. Flora MacDonald and the Hon. Benoit Bouchard, and by parliamentary colleagues and Members of the Opposition.

Newspapers. The Globe and Mail newspaper was searched for articles on CJS. This national newspaper was chosen as the primary source because I considered its coverage of federal political matters would be more comprehensive than Edmonton newspapers. Second, The Globe and Mail could be searched quickly by using the Infoglobe Data Base. Information in other newspapers was considered when particular articles had been placed in project files. Articles were found to report statements by federal and provincial Ministers, Members of the Opposition, federal government personnel, target groups, and other beneficiaries.

News releases. Statements made by Ministers of Employment and Immigration and by CJS participants were reported by the public relations branch of EIC. These news releases were found in project files, or gathered from the public relations branch.

Public information sessions. I attended two public information sessions, sponsored by EIC in conjunction with other organizations. The first was entitled, Making Canada Productive. This one-day conference, held on 28 October 1986, was planned and co-sponsored with the Alberta Vocational Centre, Edmonton, Grant MacEwan Community College, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, and the Westerra Institute of Technology. The second was a seminar conducted by the Edmonton Metropolitan Office of EIC, in cooperation with the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce on 11 December 1986. During public discussions at these sessions I recorded statements made by federal government personnel, representatives of small business and labour organizations, and postsecondary educators.

## Timeframes for Data Collection Activities

The data collection phase of the study lasted almost one year. However, the majority of the information was gathered between July and December 1986. During this period I was at RHQ searching project files and CJS policy documents, gathering aggregated CJS data, and conducting interviews with RHQ personnel. Generally data collection was performed on a program by program basis, so that project files, CJS policy documents, aggregated CJS data and interviews were focussed on a particular program at one time. Once all the programs had been investigated for the first time, I began rechecking program files in order to include projects which had become operational since my initial search. During this time I also made another check of CJS policy documents (particularly recent memos and policy circulars) and conducted further interviews. Consequently program information was included which related to the period between 4 September 1985 (when CJS programs were officially introduced) and the following dates for each of the program elements as listed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Programs and Program Elements Searched and Final Search Dates

| Program | Program Element | Final Search Date (1986) |
|---|---|---|
| Skill Shortages | Workplace-Based Option | 10 Nov. |
| Skill Investment | Small Business Option | 11 Sep. |
| | Extended Training Leave | 7 Nov. |
| | Training Trust Funds | 10 Nov. |
| Job Entry | Entry Option | 16 Oct. |
| | Re-Entry Option | 16 Oct. |
| Job Development[1] | Option 1: General Projects | 30 Oct. |
| | Option 2: Individually Subsidized Jobs | 21 Nov. |
| | Option 3: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged | 5 Nov. |
| Direct Purchase Option[1] | | 27 Nov. |

[1] The aggregated CJS data for the elements of the Job Development program, and the Direct Purchase Option was available for the current fiscal year only, i.e., from 1 April 1986.

Throughout the period of data collection, regular searches of the Globe and Mail newspaper (using the Infoglobe Data Base) and the transcripts of the House of Commons debates (Hansard) were conducted. The timeframes investigated were between:

1. 1 January 1985 and 2 December 1986 for the Globe and Mail newspaper; and
2. 14 November 1984 to 20 November 1986 for Hansard.

Between late November and mid-December 1986, I spent some time away from RHQ conducting interviews with federal government personnel in local Canada Employment Centres, provincial government personnel, and postsecondary educators.

From late December 1986 to the conclusion of the study, I visited RHQ occasionally for brief periods to discuss my findings with federal government personnel.

## Data Analysis

### Triangulation

The use of a variety of different sources and methods of analysis is referred to as triangulation. Guba and Lincoln (1981:107) explain that triangulation involves

> exposing a proposition . . . to possibly countervailing facts or assertions, or verifying such propositions with data drawn from other sources or developed using different methodologies.

In this way triangulation is designed to improve the likelihood that the findings are accurate. Jick (1979:604) adds that

> the effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weaknesses in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of another.

The variety of research instruments enabled the outcome assessment criteria to be examined using data drawn from a number of different sources. Furthermore, information from these sources was analyzed using two techniques.

First, where information was in numerical form such as that taken from aggregated CJS data, statistical analyses were performed. Second, where information was in word form, content analysis techniques were adopted. This combination of research instruments and methods of analysis reflected an emphasis on triangulation and the accompanying objective to establish some degree of structural corroboration between pieces of evidence.

A further technique designed to improve the credibility of the findings was to ask several individuals the same question, and also to ask the same individuals the same question over various time intervals. My prolonged presence at the research site facilitated this technique. As another measure, I submitted drafts of my findings to individuals from whom I had received information and whom I considered to be most knowledgeable about particular program elements. Guba and Lincoln (1981:110) referred to this procedure as the backbone of satisfying the truth-value (or internal validity) criterion in stating

> The determination of credibility can be accomplished by taking data and interpretations to the sources from which they were drawn and asking whether they believe (or find plausible) the results.

## Stages of Classification

Each piece of information underwent three stages of classification.

By program element. The first step was to determine the program element to which the information applied. Generally, this procedure was straight-forward as the name of the program element was usually present in the piece of information.

By research question. Information was then categorized by the research question to which it referred.

By cause or consequence. The final stage of classification was the determination of whether the piece of information described policy causes or consequences.

## Methods of Classification

All stages of the classification process involved content analysis. Carney (1972) describes content analysis as involving the unitizing of information, and the establishment and sequences of categories. Unitizing is the process of determining the presence or absence of a unit and its importance. Categories were developed both before and during the data collection process, using the principles proposed by Holsti (1969:95) that

> categories should reflect the purposes of the research, be exhaustive, be mutually exclusive, independent, and be derived from a single classification principle;

and the related suggestion by Guba and Lincoln (1981:102) that categories should be "internally homogeneous . . . [and] externally heterogeneous."

Information continued to be gathered and assigned to categories until as suggested by Guba and Lincoln (1981:103) "sensible regularities had emerged in the data" and new information became marginally relevant.

## Chapter Summary and Introduction to the Presentation of Findings

In this chapter, the development of the research questions and the events leading to the gaining of access to information have been described. The data collection procedures and the associated research instruments have been detailed, and the data analysis techniques have been explained.

The research methodology adopted for this study aimed to determine selected outcomes of CJS and to explain the causes of those outcomes. The chapters to follow present the findings which reflect the conceptual framework for the study. In each chapter a program, or program element, is examined through first detailing the policy inputs and processes associated with particular outcome assessment criteria. Second, the policy outcomes relating to these criteria are described. Finally these findings about causes and consequences are interpreted through reference to related literature.

# CHAPTER 5

## Direct Purchase Option

The Direct Purchase Option is a component of the Skill Shortages, Skill Investment, Job Entry and Job Development programs. The objective of this program element, expressed in the Terms and Conditions for the Purchase of Training Courses as approved by Treasury Board, is as follows:

> To provide occupational training for the labour force and thereby to better meet the skill requirements created by a changing economy, and to increase the earning and employment potential of individual workers (TB 803364, 9 October 1986).

## Policy Inputs and Processes

### Changes to Purchase Arrangements

The following information concerns federal-provincial cost-sharing arrangements for the purchase of training. This information relates to the criterion, "encouraging equity of the financial burden", and was gathered from CJS policy documents, federal government reports, and interviews with federal and provincial government officials.

The Canada Employment and Immigration Commission (CEIC) is authorized under the National Training Act and Regulations to purchase training courses in provincial training institutions and provincially approved private training institutions. Contributions related to such purchases can be made to:

> 1. Provincial governments [for courses purchased in provincial institutions], or
>
> 2. Organizations other than a public authority engaged in the delivery of training courses [for courses purchased from private trainers] (TB 803364, 9 October 1986).

The size of these contributions is calculated by multiplying the expected number of training days by an amount based upon the cost of one training day (the per diem), for particular types of training. Both the number of training days, and the per diem cost for each type of training are determined through negotiations between RHQ personnel and provincial government representatives from Alberta Career Development and Employment (ACDE, formerly Alberta Manpower).

The negotiations are usually governed by a federal-provincial training agreement which outlines

> the principles under which the training is to be conducted, the roles and responsibilities of the parties, and the funding CEIC provides to the provinces (EA 23.04,1).

On 1 April 1986, the last Canada - Alberta Training Agreement expired, and the National Institutional Training Program ceased to exist. The direct purchase of institutional training was thereafter to be considered as a delivery option in support of CJS, rather than as a separate program entity. This option was entitled the Direct Purchase Option.

Accompanying these changes, the federal government also planned to reduce their level of expenditure for the direct purchase of institutional training. Successive reductions of 10%, 15% and 20% over the three year period between 1986-87 and 1988-89 were to take place. For the 1986-87 fiscal year, the 10% cut represented a drop in expenditure from $46.5 million to $41.9 million.

Further, through the introduction of CJS, the federal government sought to alter the way in which they supported training. The Minister of Employment and Immigration announced:

> The Canadian Jobs Strategy is a new approach to training Canadians - a complete redesign of the government's labour market programs and a fundamental change in the way we develop and invest our most important resource - the people of Canada (CJS, WH3494:1).

The role of the private sector in planning, purchasing, and providing training activities was viewed as a major focus of this redesign. One of the basic principles was that

> Training and job creation must focus on the real, continuing needs of the labour market with greater emphasis on small business and entrepeneurship (CJS, WH3494:3).

Two reasons were suggested by senior officials at RHQ for the proposed reductions in the federal direct purchase expenditure, and the increased role of the private sector.

The first reason related to the findings from a national consultation process, initiated by the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Hon. Flora MacDonald, and undertaken in December 1984 and January 1985. These findings were summarized in a report, entitled, Employment Opportunities: Preparing Canadians for a Better Future which was presented at the First Minister's Conference on the Economy, held during February 1985. This report read:

> The training arrangements of the past simply do not meet the needs of many Canadians. Basic improvements are needed in training arrangements for young people, women, the long-term unemployed, and workers needing skill upgrading because of technological change (pp.4-5).
>
> The programs and policies of the past are not relevant to the problems of the present and future. Canadians suggested that:
>
> > federal training and employment programs must be part of a cooperative, national endeavour involving the provinces, the training institutions and the private sector (p.7).
>
> Training and job creation must be economic in orientation with emphasis on small business and support of entrepreneurship (p.8).

Second, the members of the *Task Force on Program Review* (The Nielsen Task Force) were highly critical of current institutional training arrangements. The report of the Task Force read:

> Based on our detailed assessment of the National Institutional Training Program, we believe that there exist serious grounds for concern that the federal government is over-investing in institutional training.
> We note the following points:
>
> > Large numbers of trainees appear to have difficulty in obtaining employment . . . [and]
> >
> > There is a great lack of private sector input into the selection and design of institutional training courses (p.17).

The Director of Employment and Insurance made reference to the findings expressed in these reports at a conference entitled, *Making Canada Productive Through Building Partnerships*, conducted by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges in conjunction with EIC, and attended by representatives from small business organizations, postsecondary institutions and the provincial and federal governments. He explained, during the forum session, that through CJS, "we [CEIC] will gradually purchase less from institutions, and hope to encourage the role of the private sector."

The announcement of the changes in purchase arrangements came at a time when federal-provincial training agreements were due to be renegotiated. New agreements were scheduled to come into effect on 1 April 1986. When my monitoring period at RHQ concluded on 22 December 1986, the Canada - Alberta Agreement was still awaiting Ministerial signatures.

## Direct Purchase Option Planning

Equity of the Financial Burden. Despite the lack of an agreement, the negotiations on numbers of training days and per diem costs took place, and trainees continued to be referred to courses. The lack of an agreement did however prevent CEIC from paying the provincial government for the public institutional training, to which participants had been referred. Before 1 April 1986, under the last federal-provincial agreement, the provincial treasury received monthly contributions from CEIC.

Prior to these negotiations, forecasts of training needs for the next fiscal year are requested from each Canada Employment Centre (CEC) by RHQ. These forecasts are sent to RHQ, and reviewed with reference to the regional budget, information received from provincial officials, and the activity in previous years.

From the forecasts, a tentative annual training plan is developed by RHQ personnel, and this acts as the basis for discussion during subsequent meetings with provincial officials. The outcome of these meetings is the annual training plan which sets out "the volumes and types of training that CEIC will purchase directly from the public authority or private institutions," (EA 23.04,1). The plan for the 1986/87 fiscal year is presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.2. When the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement was to be signed, this plan would become the Annex B to that agreement.

The per diems presented in Table 5.1 are not always the actual costs of one training day for one participant. For example, in apprenticeship training, RHQ and Alberta Career Development and Employment (ACDE) officials accepted that the per diem, while noticeably higher than for other types of training, is less than the amount necessary for full cost recovery. RHQ personnel indicated that lower per diems allow CEIC to increase their number of trainees. Further, since CEIC would normally provide apprentices with income support, the provincial government in accepting a lower per diem is saved from paying training allowances.

An ACDE official offered a similar explanation,in stating that

> if Canada purchases a seat, clients are given income support as well. Therefore the province doesn't have to pay it. . . .You won't find that stated explicitly in policy manuals.

Table 5.1

Direct Purchase Expenditures for 1986/87
as at 1 November 1986

ANNEX B

CANADA - ALBERTA[1]

Approved List of Per Diem Prices and Allocations
Effective April 1, 1986

| Course Category | Program Element | Days (000s) | Per Diem | $Allocation (000s) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | Vocational Preparation | 217 | 23 | 4991 |
| II | Language Training | 270 | 23 | 6210 |
| III | Part-time Training | 3 | 22 | 66 |
| IV | Vocational Training | 222 | 31 | 6882 |
| V | Apprenticeship Training | 430 | 44 | 20544 |
| Contribution to Cost of Provincial Services | | | | 1276 |
| Total Public | | 1212 | | 39965 |
| VI | Private Purchase | 83 | 23 | 1908 |
| Total Allocations | | | | 41877 |

Approved on Behalf of:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canada Employment and Immigration Commission | Date | Province of Alberta | Date |

Source: Appendix 1, Draft Canada - Alberta Training Agreement

[1] These figures have been rounded.

Table 5.2

1986/87 Institutional Training Plan

| Type of Training | Type of Course[1]<br>Ad Hoc Native | <br>Ad Hoc Non-Native | <br>AVT-Regular | Total Days |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Vocational Training | 26084 | 76240 | 119676 | 222000 |
| Vocational Preparation | | | | |
| BTSD | 39100 | 8690 | 131210 | 179000 |
| JRT | 12100 | 24180 | 1720 | 38000 |
| Part-time Training | | | 3000 | 3000 |
| Language Training | | 202500 | 67500 | 270000 |
| Apprenticeship Training | | | | 500000 |
| Total Public | | | | 1212000 |
| Private Purchase | | | | 82800 |
| Total Days | | | | 1294800 |

Source: Appendix 1, Draft Canada - Alberta Training Agreement

[1] Ad hoc courses are courses offered at CEIC's request. CEIC are required to pay the full negotiated cost, regardless of how few clients are referred.

Once the per diem rates and expected numbers of training days have been approved, subsequent meetings with ACDE may be held. The purpose of such meetings would be to effect changes in the per diem rates as a result of unforeseen changes in participant numbers. While changes are made occasionally, the total regional allocation ($41.8 million for 1986/87) is determined at the national level and is fixed.

Skill Acquisition. Guidelines for CEC personnel to aid in the forecasting of institutional training requirements are sent each year, to all CEC Managers from the Director of Employment and Insurance at RHQ. In these guidelines, the types of course available for purchase were described, as follows:

> A regular offered program [regular course] is core-funded by the Province, and is run on a regular basis by an institution. These courses always appear in an institutions calendar.
>
> An ad hoc course is one which generally does not appear in an institution's calendar, and is mounted at the request of CEIC.
>
> There are also provincial ad hoc courses [funded by Alberta Vocational Training (AVT) Grants] which are initiated and offered from time to time by institutions.

In Table 5.2, provincial ad hoc courses are classified with regular programs. The decision by postsecondary educators to deliver a provincial ad hoc course is usually taken after consultation with local CECs, in order to assess the number of training places, which CEIC may wish to purchase.

Federal ad hoc courses are classified in Table 5.2 as "Ad Hoc - Native" and "Ad Hoc - Non-native". The purpose of these courses was defined in the forecasting guidelines as a mechanism

> to initiate and continue training opportunities which would otherwise not be available, and which are perceived by CEIC to address a CJS demand.

Employment Opportunities. The Director suggested that ad hoc courses could provide "a creative means for intervention", and CEC personnel were encouraged to be proactive by

> forecasting spaces in courses where employment opportunities are good, and then actively searching out CJS clients for the spaces.

Further, they were asked to

> consider local labour market needs/imbalances, employment/unemployment projections, and historical purchase patterns, [and]
>
> assess the effectiveness of previous ad hoc courses by examining placement records, in order to determine whether the graduates will be likely to find related employment.

If previous courses had a low placement rate, then CEC personnel were advised that "it was their responsibility to request a modification in course content. . . ."

_Equality of Participation_. CEC personnel were to ensure that CJS criteria were met, in forecasting training requirements. They were also encouraged "to not be unduly pressured by what employee/employer clients, training institutions, or other agencies identify as their interests."

## _The Nature of Training_

_Skill Acquisition_. Occupational training is defined in Section 2 (1) of the National Training Act (NTA) as

> any instruction, other than university instruction, that provides a person with skills for, or improves a person's skills in, an occupation.

University instruction is defined in Section 2 (2) of the National Training Regulations as "instruction in a university course leading to the degree for which the training is being undertaken." While the purchase of training from universities is not prohibited, the EIC Employment Manual reads that

> If the purpose of the training or the objective of the client is to obtain a degree, then referral is not permissable since is is not occupational training as defined in the Act (EA 23.4,5c).

"Vocational Preparation" refers to Basic Training for Skill Development (BTSD) and Job Readiness Training (JRT). BTSD is academic upgrading comprised mainly of training in mathematics, science and communication skills. Courses are specifically designed

> to raise the academic level of trainees so that they may enter vocational training related to their occupational goals (EA 23.17,1).
>
> JRT is designed to help trainees:
>
> develop an awareness of their own attitudes, abilities and interest; make an occupational choice; develop problem-solving skills and skills in interpersonal relationships; [and] acquire job-search skills (EA 23.18,2).

The duration of JRT courses is "generally in the range of 20 weeks or less" (EA 23.18,3).

Language training [most commonly "English as a Second Language" (ESL)] is designed to assist trainees "to acquire sufficient communication skills to be able to integrate into the labour market" (EA 23.19,1b). The training period length usually varies between 20 and 30 weeks.

"Part-time Training" enables "persons to upgrade existing skills or learn new skills while maintaining their responsibilities" (EA 23.25,6a). Part-time training courses are those which provide less than 25 hours of vocational skill instruction per week.

"Vocational Training" includes the following types of training:

> a. Entry Skills: Knowledge needed to enter an occupation. Usually trainees attending these courses are unskilled workers.
>
> b. Upgrading Skills: Skills needed to enable workers to perform at a higher level . . . or to keep abreast of technological changes (EA 23.16,1).

Apprentices are required to attend technical training courses three to twelve weeks in length in each year of their apprenticeship. The term of apprenticeship varies in length from two to four years.

Training may be purchased from private trainers if

> the training is not provided by the public authority in the vicinity of the trainee's place of residence, or the cost to CEIC of the training offered by the public authority is greater than that of the private training available (EA 23.10,1).

Private purchases are designed to allow "greater flexibility and economy in the purchase of training" (EA 23.20,1). Organizations which are considered for private purchase must be licensed and the course to be purchased must be approved by the Province. Further

> CEIC is required to consult with the provincial authority prior to making a course purchase from a private source (EA 23.11,1).

Employment Opportunities. The objective of BSTD is "to provide the basis for further skill development and eventual employment" (EA 23.18,1).

JRT is intended

> to increase the employability of chronically unemployed workers and of those persons wishing to enter or

1

> re-enter the labour force after a prolonged absence (EA 23.18,1).

The purpose of language training is

> to remove the employment barrier which stifles the job-search efforts of skilled . . . and unskilled workers who cannot secure employment because of a lack of fluency in a second language (EA 23.19,1a).

Part-time vocational training is intended to foster employment opportunities by

> enabling persons to upgrade existing skills or learn new skills while maintaining their responsibilities (EA 23.25,6a).

For example, individuals may prevent being laid-off or increase their chances of promotion by undertaking part-time training while employed.

In the guidelines for forecasting course purchases, CEC personnel were informed that vocational skill training courses were not to be purchased under the following circumstances:

1. Courses had a poor placement record for program graduates.

2. Courses related to occupations for which there was either a lack of demand, or an excess of qualified but unemployed personnel.

Equality of Participation. Section 2(1) of the National Training Act defines an adult as

> a person who is no longer required by the law in the province in which he/she resides to attend school.

Section 4 (1) of the Act specifies that an adult may be enrolled in a training course if

> [he/she] has not attended school on a regular basis for any period of twelve consecutive months since becoming an adult.

Although the one-year-out-of-school rule may be waivered where there is a need for workers with particular skills, this waiver "will be by exception only" (EA 23.13,4). The most significant exception is for apprentices who

> do not need to have been out of school for any period of time to be eligible for training. . . . However, they must be an adult as defined in the Act (EA 23.14,4d).

RHQ personnel indicated that apprentices usually undertake their first period of training toward the end of their first year of indenturement with their employer.

CJS criteria for training under the Direct Purchase Option are presented in Figure 5.1. These criteria are similar to the criteria used for other elements of those programs. However there are two differences. First, individuals undertaking language training are eligible under the Job Entry Program. Second, apprentices who are selected and referred to training by a provincial authority rather than by CEIC are deemed to be eligible under the Skill Shortages Program.

Once eligibility under the National Training Act and Regulations, and under GJS programming have been satisfied, the determination of appropriate training is made by the employment counsellor and the client. Specific eligibility criteria apply to each type of training.

| SKILL SHORTAGES | JOB ENTRY |
|---|---|
| Unemployed persons who have been identified for training in designated occupational skills when the number of workers that can be trained by employers is insufficient to meet the need of the economy<br>or<br>Apprentices referred to training by the provincial authority, even if the occupational skills are not regionally or nationally designated | Women who have been primarily engaged in home-making activities for 3 or more years,<br>or<br>Youth who have not made the transition from school to stable employment<br>or<br>Persons seeking language training and who have not made a successful transition to work due to a lack of fluency in a second language |

DIRECT PURCHASE

| SKILL INVESTMENT | JOB DEVELOPMENT |
|---|---|
| Employed workers facing technological or market changes in the workplace which could negatively impact on their employment | Persons unemployed 24 out of the last 30 weeks and who require assistance to participate effectively in the labour market |

Figure 5.1

CJS Programs which Include the Direct Purchase Option and their Accompanying Client Eligibility Criteria.

Sources: Appendix 1, Draft Federal-Provincial Training Agreement; Chapter 23, EIC Employment Manual.

Basic Training for Skill Development (BTSD) is described to have eligibility criteria that are more restrictive than those of other types of training because

> the responsibility for providing education lies with the provinces and CEIC sponsored courses should not be used to compete with the regular school system (EA 23.17,5).

For example, BTSD below grade 8 level is excluded "as this falls in a field that is basically a provincial responsibility" (EA 23.17,2). Further conditions apply regarding the number of years out-of-school. In Alberta, there is a two year requirement for Natives and a three year requirement for other persons.

Chronically unemployed individuals are eligible to undertake Job Readiness Training. A chronically unemployed worker is considered to be

> a person who has been unable to find and maintain employment for more than a few weeks as a time in the previous twelve months (EA 23.18,1).

Language courses are available to immigrants, refugees, interprovincial migrants, and natives whose lack of fluency in a second language prevents them from securing employment.

Part-time training is "intended for persons for whom access to full-time training is difficult" (EA 23.26,2).

Individuals receiving vocational training "must meet course entry prerequisites and job related requirements" (EA 23.16,2). These requirements are usually stated on Course Description Sheets, received from the Province and private trainers.

### Participant Selection and Referral

The employment counsellor has the overall responsibility for selecting and referring individuals to training courses, "except for apprenticeship training where candidates are selected by provincial apprenticeship authorities" (EA 25.04,4a).

The selection process consists of

> the activities required to enable an employment counsellor to decide whether or not a client should be referred to training (EA 23.29,1).

Employment counsellors explained that an important phase of the selection process is the interview with the prospective client. At this interview, the employment counsellor assesses the eligibility of the prospective client in relation to NTA and CJS program criteria. Once eligibility was established, the key question, according to one employment counsellor was: "Would this person's barrier to employment be removed by training?"

If training is being considered, the prospective client may be asked to do an aptitude test, or a literacy test, or perhaps to arrange a period of onsite observation of the occupation for which the training is proposed. The employment counsellor is also required to obtain information about the course prerequisites, and the employment opportunities for graduates of that course. Further, the EIC Employment Manual reads:

> the decision to refer the client to training should only be made if, in the employment counsellor's opinion, he/she has a reasonable chance of completing the training successfully (EA 23.20,2a).

Once these factors have been addressed, and if the person is considered to be an appropriate referral, his/her name is place on a waiting list for the chosen course.

The first 30% of places on the course waiting lists are reserved for members of one of the four CJS target groups (women, disabled, visible minority, and natives).

## Participant Income Support

The following description of the nature of participant income support in the Direct Purchase Option was developed from information gathered from policy documents and interviews conducted with EIC personnel. This information addresses the criterion "encouraging equity of the financial burden".

The Terms and Conditions approved by Treasury Board authorizes the payment of income support to

> participants whose enrolment in a training course has been arranged by an EIC officer, or who are apprentices enrolled in a training course that is covered by an agreement between EIC and the government of a province (TB 803364, 9 October 1986).

Employment counsellors can arrange for participants to receive either training allowances, or Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits under Section 39 of the UI Act, as well as supplementary allowances ~~which~~ contribute to travel, accommodation, meals, and child care expenses. A summary of the training and supplementary allowance schedules is presented in Table 5.3.

UI benefits can be used as income support for "fee-payers", who are described in the EIC Employment Manual as "trainees referred to courses not purchased under the National Training Act" (EA 29.26,1). These trainees are eligible for support under Section 39 of the UI Act, provided that

> the training is full-time; and the occupation being trained for is one identified as being in high demand and of major importance to the regional economy (EA 29.26,3h).

The fee-payer referral route offers an opportunity to be placed in training more quickly because fee-payers are not wait-listed.

Table 5.3

Training Allowance and Supplementary Allowance Schedules

| Status of Participant | % of fixed wage rate as determined by Cabinet (initially $3.50/hour) |
|---|---|
| Living with parents or spouse whose weekly income is more than 50% over a fixed wage rate as determined by Cabinet (initially $210) | 50% |
| All other participants | 100% |
| with one dependant | additional 20% |
| each additional dependant | additional 10% |
| **Supplementary Allowances** | |
| Dependant Care | |
| 1st and 2nd dependant | 100%, maximum $16/day each |
| 3rd dependant | 100%, maximum $10/day |
| 4th dependant | 100%, maximum $5/day |
| additional dependants | $0 |
| Living away from home<br>in provinces<br>in territories | $15/day ($20/day in territories) for a maximum of 5 days/week where training is for at least 20 hours/week |
| Commuting/Travel | Distances 24 kilometres (one way) from the training institution at 8.5 cents per kilometre (Southern Alberta), and at 9.5 cents per kilometre (designated northern areas of Alberta) |

Source: Terms and Conditions, Approved by Treasury Board (TB 803364, 9 October 1986).

## Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Public institutions. The number of participant places reserved to 29 September 1986 in public institutional full-time funding courses in each type of training are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4

Type of Training by Frequency of Participant Places Reserved in Direct Purchase Option: Full-Time Public Institutional Training

| Type of Training | Frequency (N = 19612) |
|---|---|
| Apprenticeship | 12436 |
| Language | 2361 |
| Vocational | 2314 |
| BTSD | 2015 |
| JRT | 486 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, List of Course Purchases Active During the Current Fiscal Year, Search Date 29 September 1986.

The listing of course purchases from which this table was derived accounted for approximately $35.4 million (including $19.5 million for Apprenticeship training) of the $41.9 million regional allocation.

Apprenticeship training dominates the Direct Purchase

Option, both in terms of numbers of trainees and purchase cost. Apprenticeship training had the highest per diem cost (see Table 5.1).

Training titles accompanied each type of training in the listing of CPNs. All Language training referred to "English as a Second Language". BTSD was described by the grade level range which was covered, for example, "BTSD 11 - 12", or "BTSD 8 - 11" or "Academic Upgrading 9 - 10". JRT was most frequently referred to as "Life Skills".

The participant frequency in each occupational category in which vocational training was to be undertaken are listed in Table 5.5. The most frequent training title accompanies each occupational category.

Training undertaken for clerical occupations had the highest frequency, accounting for over one third of the total number of participants. Related training titles were "wordprocessing" and "basic accounting".

The number of participant places reserved in public institutional part-time courses in each type of training are presented in Table 5.6. Neither JRT nor apprenticeship training appear in Table 5.6. JRT is not designed for part-time training. It is assumed that these trainees are attempting to enter the workforce, rather than take leave from it to undertake training.

On the other hand,

> Part-time apprentice training is encouraged as it eliminates interruption of employment. . . . (EA 23.26,5).

### Table 5.5

### Occupational Category Trained For Accompanied by Most Frequent Training Title by Participant Frequency in Direct Purchase Option: Full-Time Public Institutional Vocational Training

| Occupational Category | Most Frequent Training Title | Frequency (N = 2314) |
|---|---|---|
| Clerical | clerk typist | 852 |
| Other Crafts and Equipment Operating | power engineering | 245 |
| Medicine and Health | nursing aide | 207 |
| Product Fabricating, Assembling, Repairing | micro computer repair | 190 |
| Natural Sciences, Engineering | electronic technician | 170 |
| Social Sciences | early childhood development | 122 |
| Construction | building renovation | 120 |
| Services | commercial cook | 118 |
| Managerial, Administrative | business administration | 106 |
| Other[1] | | 184 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, List of Course Purchases Active During the Current Fiscal Year, Search Date 29 September 1986.

[1] The category "Other " refers to Occupational Categories with less than 100 participants.

However no part-time apprenticeship training was purchased. RHQ personnel suggested several explanations. Employers may prefer training to be done in blocks, or institutions do not offer courses amenable to a part-time schedule, or possibly the cost of part-time training is greater. In relation to possible cost differences between full-time and part-time training, the EIC Employment Manual read:

> those who are UI eligible cannot be directed to [part-time] courses under Section 39 of UI Act. . . . UI recipients may be disentitled from benefits by the UI agent for those days when training is provided (EA 29.28).

Table 5.6

Type of Training
by Frequency of Participant Places Reserved
in Direct Purchase Option:
Part-Time Public Institutional Training

| Type of Training | Frequency (N = 188) |
|---|---|
| Language | 101 |
| Vocational | 83 |
| BTSD | 4 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, List of Course Purchases Active During the Current Fiscal Year, Search Date 29 September 1986.

Part-time vocational training had a similar focus to full-time vocational training. Forty-nine of the 83 participants training for clerical occupations undertook wordprocessing or business accounting courses.

Private trainers. The number of participant places reserved in full-time courses given by private trainers in each type of training are presented in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Type of Training by Frequency of Participant Places Reserved in Direct Purchase Option: Full-Time Training Given by Private Trainers

| Type of Training | Frequency (N = 493) |
|---|---|
| Vocational | 372 |
| JRT | 103 |
| Language | 11 |
| BTSD | 7 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, List of Course Purchases Active During the Current Fiscal Year, Search Date 29 September 1986.

The emphasis on clerical skills found in vocational training in public institutions was also evident in courses to be given by private trainers. From further information in the course purchase list, 304 of the 372 trainees were to receive instruction in electronic data processing and introductory accounting.

JRT (mostly titled "life skills training") accounted for 21% of the total number of trainees who were to receive full-time private trainer instruction, whereas public institutions were to give JRT to less than 3% of trainees.

The number of participant places reserved in part-time courses given by private trainers in each type of training are presented in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8

Type of Training by Frequency of Participant Place Reserved in Direct Purchase Option: Part-time Training Given by Private Trainers

| Type of Training | Frequency (N = 462) |
|---|---|
| Language | 450 |
| BTSD | 12 |
| Vocational | 1 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, List of Course Purchases Active During the Current Fiscal Year, Search Date 29 September 1986.

Part-time language training was mostly to be given by private trainers. The 450 language trainees expected for private trainers greatly exceeded the 101 trainee places purchased in public institutions. From interviews conducted with RHQ personnel, it appears that many "private trainers" were community or non-profit groups who specialize in catering for the needs of immigrants.

_Type of training by CJS program element_. The number of trainees who started courses for each type of training in each CJS program element are presented in Table 5.9.

Table 5.9

Type of Training by CJS Program Element and Trainee Frequency in Direct Purchase Option

| CJS Program Element | Type of Training | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Vocational | BTSD | JRT | Language | Apprentice |
| Skill Shortages | 122 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 3511 |
| Skill Investment | 51 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Job Entry (Youth) | 30 | 41 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| Job Entry (Re-Entry) | 68 | 71 | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| Job Entry (Language) | 0 | 1 | 0 | 956 | 0 |
| Job Development | 366 | 373 | 38 | 1 | 1 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Type of Training Undertaken by Trainees Who Started Courses by CJS Program Option, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

The type of training undertaken in each program element largely reflects the eligibility criteria and the needs of the participants. The exception is the placement of apprenticeship training within the Skill Shortages Program. The occupations for which apprentices received training are not designated skill shortages.

All Skill Investment trainees were given vocational training. Since eligibility criteria require that these trainees be employed, this training is usually given using a part-time format. From findings presented earlier, most of the training was applicable to clerical occupations.

Both the Job Entry: Entry and Re-Entry Option trainees undertook either vocational training or vocational preparation courses (particularly academic upgrading). Women and youth wishing to make the transition to the labour market were most commonly advised by employment counsellors to undertake BTSD to upgrade their academic qualifications prior to undertaking vocational training. Immigrants and refugees, eligible under the Job Entry Direct Purchase Option, received language training.

Long-term unemployed persons, satisfying Job Development eligibility criteria, were referred in approximately 50% of cases, to vocational preparation courses (BTSD and JRT).

## Employment Opportunities

Once the trainee has completed the course, information concerning the training is added to the trainee's file in the CEC, which made the referral. At this time, trainees who completed vocational preparation courses (BTSD and JRT) may be waitlisted for vocational training courses.

In the case of trainees who completed vocational training, one RHQ staff member explained:

> CEC personnel are then supposed to actively market the clients, but the degree to which this happens is difficult to ascertain.

The only reference in the EIC Employment Manual to the role of CEC personnel in follow-up activities is:

> When labour market conditions are such that a trainee cannot find suitable employment . . . consideration may be given to refer the person to another more suitable course providing that the additional training will improve the person's employment and earning potential (EA 23.25,3).

Finding the time for effective follow-up was cited as a problem by several employment counsellors. Further, one CEC staff member commented that a referral to additional training may not be an appropriate solution.

Little information was available in the monthly reports produced through the automated information systems of EIC in relation to the employment status of trainees who completed courses. The only measure of the extent to which employment opportunities were fostered was that of the 172 trainees who discontinued their courses in the period, 1 April 1986 to 2 October 1986, eight were identified as having left because they took a job related to course content. In view of the approximately five thousand trainees during this period, it is reassuring that only 172 discontinued their courses. However, it is difficult to gauge the impact of that training in fostering employment opportunities.

## Equality of Participation

Skill Shortages. The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency are presented in Table 5.10. Beyond age and sex characteristics of apprentices, no other apprentice characteristics were available. The responsibility for documenting apprentices was regarded by RHQ personnel to lie with provincial authorities.

From interviews with provincial government officials and RHQ personnel, I was informed that provincial authorities have been criticized by EIC personnel for the small number of women who are referred to apprenticeship training. Using the age characteristic details in Table 5.10 as an approximate measure (since these details include the small number of non-apprentices) the percentage of female trainees is close to 5%.

The general characteristics of non-apprentice trainees were as follows: the majority (76%) were males, most (89%) had attained a grade 11 educational level, and approximately 60% were unemployed, when referred to training.

Skill Investment. The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency are presented in Table 5.11.

The general characteristics of trainees referred under Skill Investment criteria were as follows: 66% were female, 69% were aged between 25 and 44 years, 80% had attained an educational level higher than grade 10, and 86% were employed, when referred. From the findings discussed earlier, these trainees would most likely have undertaken part-time vocational training for clerical occupations. While these occupations may be considered as traditional, the number of native women trainees reflects a significant target group representation.

Job Entry. The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency for the Job Entry: Entry Option are presented in Table 5.12.

The general characteristics of trainees referred under Entry Option Criteria were as follows: 80% were less than 25 years, 71% were female, 50% had attained an educational level higher than grade 10, and 82% were not employed, when referred.

## Table 5.10

### Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Skill Shortages: Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 3596) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 208 | 16 | 224 |
| 20 - 24 | 1528 | 69 | 1597 |
| 25 - 44 | 1638 | 94 | 1732 |
| 45 + | 33 | 10 | 43 |
| **Education Level**[1] | | | |
| 08 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 09 - 10 | 9 | 6 | 15 |
| 11 - 12 | 89 | 26 | 115 |
| Postsecondary | 22 | 4 | 26 |
| **Labour Force Status**[2] | | | |
| Employed | 30 | 5 | 35 |
| Unemployed | 67 | 12 | 79 |
| Other | 1 | 17 | 18 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 22 | 2 | 24 |
| Disabled | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Visible Minority | 4 | 0 | 4 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] Information about "Education Level","Labour Force Status" and "Target Group Participation" characteristics of apprentices were not collected. Characteristics under these categories are shown only for those trainees referred by employment counsellors.

[2] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

## Table 5.11

### Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Skill Investment: Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 51) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 20 - 24 | 2 | 7 | 9 |
| 25 - 44 | 14 | 21 | 35 |
| 45 + | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 1 | 4 | 5 |
| 09 - 10 | 1 | 14 | 15 |
| 11 - 12 | 15 | 16 | 31 |
| Postsecondary | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| **Labour Force Status**[1] | | | |
| Employed | 16 | 28 | 44 |
| Unemployed | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 8 | 22 | 30 |
| Disabled | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Visible Minority | 1 | 0 | 1 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

Table 5.12

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Job Entry (Youth): Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 71) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 5 | 18 | 23 |
| 20 - 24 | 12 | 22 | 34 |
| 25 - 44 | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| 45 + | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| 09 - 10 | 13 | 16 | 29 |
| 11 - 12 | 5 | 30 | 35 |
| Postsecondary | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Labour Force Status[1] | | | |
| Employed | 4 | 9 | 13 |
| Unemployed | 17 | 31 | 48 |
| Other | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| Target Group Participation | | | |
| Native | 10 | 12 | 22 |
| Disabled | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Visible Minority | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency for the Job Entry: Re-Entry Option are presented in Table 5.13.

Table 5.13

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Job Entry (Re-Entry): Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 149) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| 20 - 24 | 1 | 27 | 28 |
| 25 - 44 | 1 | 109 | 110 |
| 45 + | 0 | 8 | 8 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 1 | 23 | 24 |
| 09 - 10 | 1 | 46 | 47 |
| 11 - 12 | 0 | 69 | 69 |
| Postsecondary | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| **Labour Force Status**[1] | | | |
| Employed | 0 | 10 | 10 |
| Unemployed | 2 | 30 | 32 |
| Other | 0 | 107 | 107 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 1 | 41 | 42 |
| Disabled | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Visible Minority | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

An unusual feature was the recorded participation of two male trainees in a program designed for women re-entering the work force. According to RHQ personnel, these referrals were made when the criteria for the Re-Entry Option had not been fully explained. On 11 September 1986, a memorandum outlining the policy on Re-Entry Option criteria was sent to all Regional Job Entry Managers, from the Assistant Director of the Job Entry Program at NHQ. This memorandum read:

> The Minister [Hon. Flora MacDonald] has provided direction concerning the clientele of the Re-Entry Option. The policy decision is that the option is to be limited to the participation of women only. There will be no more men on Re-Entry in the future.
>
> When a man requests such participation and has been engaged in bona fide homemaking activities, he should not be refused on the basis of his sex. The intent and objective of Re-Entry must be explained to him.

Several RHQ personnel expressed concern over the wording of this memorandum. One staff member indicated that personnel in the field offices would have considerable difficulty explaining to men that the program was designed only for women, but that they were not being refused on the basis of their sex.

The general characteristics of women trainees referred under Re-Entry Option criteria, were as follows: 75% were aged between 25 and 44 years, and 73% were classified as "Other", in relation to labour force status. This classification reflected the eligibility criteria relating engagement in homemaking activities. Approximately half (47.6%) of the trainees had attained education levels of less than grade 11.

The proportion of Natives in the Entry and Re-Entry components of the Direct Purchase Option was 31% and 25% respectively.

The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency for the Job Entry (Language Training) Option are presented in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Job Entry (Language Training): Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 856) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 26 | 17 | 43 |
| 20 - 24 | 94 | 94 | 188 |
| 25 - 44 | 275 | 269 | 544 |
| 45 + | 43 | 38 | 81 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 129 | 145 | 274 |
| 09 - 10 | 98 | 78 | 176 |
| 11 - 12 | 211 | 195 | 406 |
| Postsecondary | 55 | 48 | 103 |
| Labour Force Status[1] | | | |
| Employed | 29 | 53 | 82 |
| Unemployed | 349 | 254 | 603 |
| Other | 60 | 111 | 171 |
| Target Group Participation | | | |
| Native | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Disabled | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Visible Minority | 36 | 49 | 85 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

The general characteristics of trainees referred under Job Entry (Language Training) Option criteria, were as follows: 64% were aged between 25 and 44 years, and 70% were unemployed. Of the 856 trainees, 724 (85%) were immigrants, and 525 (73%) of those immigrants were classified as refugees. Two education level categories, 08 (32%) and 11 - 12 (47%), had noticeably higher frequencies than 09 - 10 (21%) and Postsecondary (12%).

Job Development. The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency are presented in Table 5.15.

The general characteristics of trainees referred under Job Development criteria were as follows: 70% were female, 66% were aged between 25 and 44 years, and the most common educational level ranges were 9 - 10 (44%) and 11 - 12 (45%). This distribution was reflected in the type of training undertaken by these participants - approximately 47% received vocational training, the remainder were given vocational preparation training (mostly BTSD).

## Table 5.15

## Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Job Development: Direct Purchase Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 714) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 6 | 16 | 22 |
| 20 - 24 | 60 | 104 | 164 |
| 25 - 44 | 138 | 332 | 470 |
| 45 + | 11 | 47 | 58 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 28 | 49 | 77 |
| 09 - 10 | 105 | 210 | 315 |
| 11 - 12 | 81 | 240 | 321 |
| Postsecondary | 7 | 21 | 28 |
| **Labour Force Status**[1] | | | |
| Employed | 22 | 58 | 80 |
| Unemployed | 179 | 254 | 433 |
| Other | 13 | 187 | 200 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 39 | 76 | 115 |
| Disabled | 5 | 1 | 6 |
| Visible Minority | 2 | 2 | 4 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] The "Labour Force Status" characteristic was not recorded for all trainees.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Participant Income Support. The type and average $ rate per day of income support for each Direct Option program element is presented in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16

Type and Average $ Rate Per Day of Income Support by Direct Purchase Option Program Element

| Program Element | Type of Income Support | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Training Allowance/UI | Dependent Care | Living Away From Home | Commuting |
| Skill Shortages | 21.83 | 20.34 | 15.00 | 6.81 |
| Skill Investment | 21.02 | 20.92 | 00.00 | 2.07 |
| Job Entry (Youth) | 19.87 | 18.91 | 00.00 | 8.33 |
| Job Entry (Re-Entry) | 18.19 | 22.94 | 15.00 | 4.11 |
| Job Entry (Language) | 18.94 | 21.27 | 00.00 | 3.71 |
| Job Development | 19.55 | 20.49 | 15.00 | 3.90 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Income Support Analysis of Participants in Training During the 1986/87 Fiscal Year by CJS Program Option, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

The levels of training allowance or UI benefits, and dependent care allowances did not show much variation between program elements. From these daily rates, the average weekly income for trainees with no dependents is approximately $100. Those trainees with the average number of dependents receive, on average, approximately $100 in addition to the training allowance or UI benefits.

These levels of income support were considered by CEC personnel to be reasonable, particularly if trainees received some dependent care allowances. A measure of the adequacy of income support was obtained by gathering information from the automated information systems of EIC about the reasons for trainee discontinuation. Of the 172 trainees who discontinued courses during the 1986/87 fiscal year cumulative to 2 October, 21 trainees cited lack of financial support.

Trainee percentage frequencies in each income support category by each Direct Purchase Option program element are presented in Table 5.17.

The majority of Skill Shortages trainees received UI benefits or were serving waiting periods to become eligible for such benefits [27.6% (AW) + 18.0% (AP) + 22.6% (BB) = 68.2%].

The use of UI benefits as income support for apprentices (classified under Skill Shortages criteria) was cited as an issue by several RHQ personnel. They questioned whether apprentices who were required to periodically attend institutional courses were genuinely unemployed and entitled to UI benefits. Through interviews with federal and provincial government personnel, I found that this was an issue affecting the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. One provincial official stated that "the federal threat of not paying UI to apprentices has caused the province to compromise certain terms of the Agreement." The payment of UI to apprentices was also a matter for consideration raised by the recent Forget Commission Report (1986).

Another issue, related to the use of UI as income support, was the possible difference in the level of support available through UI benefits compared with that provided by training allowances. This was described by the Manager of Employment Training Programs as follows:

> Two participants may be eligible for training under the Direct Purchase Option, and be equal in every respect except for UI eligibility. One may receive $89 per week from a training allowance, while the other may get $240 through unemployment insurance.

Skill Investment trainees in 75% of cases did not receive any income support. Most of these trainees were employed, and undertaking part-time training. The Director of Employment and Insurance in a memorandum sent to all CEC Managers referred to income under the Skill Investment: Direct Purchase Option as follows:

> Trainees are normally not eligible for allowances, since income from earnings will usualy be higher than the allowance otherwise payable.

In the remaining CJS program elements, the majority of trainees received a training allowance. While the trainees in each Job Entry Option did not usually qualify for UI because of limited experience in the labour force, participants referred under the Job Development criteria may have exhausted their UI entitlements as a result of prolonged periods of unemployment.

## Table 5.17

### Income Support Category and Trainee Percentage Frequency by Direct Purchase Option Program Element

| Program Element | Income Support Category[1] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AA | AS | AW | AP | AB | BB | NS |
| Skill Shortages | 8.5 | 7.0 | 27.6 | 18 | 13.5 | 22.6 | 2.9 |
| Skill Investment | 5.8 | 11.5 | 1.9 | 0 | 1.9 | 3.8 | 75.0 |
| Job Entry (Youth) | 35.5 | 24.0 | 21.5 | 1 | 5 | 12.8 | 0 |
| Job Entry (Re-Entry) | 32.7 | 58.9 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 0.6 | 3.0 | 1.2 |
| Job Entry (Language) | 56.4 | 12.1 | 1.2 | 0.2 | 2.7 | 11.1 | 16.3 |
| Job Development | 38.9 | 26.0 | 4.1 | 2.7 | 7.5 | 19.9 | 1 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Income Support Category of Participants Who Started Courses During the 1986/87 Fiscal Year by CJS Program Option, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] Key for Income Support Category: AA = Allowance only; AS = Allowance and supplementary allowance; AW = Allowance only for a waiting period; AP = Allowance for a waiting period and supplementary allowances for the duration of training; AB = Supplementary allowances only for the duration of training; BB = UI only; NS = No EIC income support.

The highest percentage frequency of supplementary allowances (58.9%) occurred in the Re-Entry component of the Job Entry: Direct Purchase Option. This finding reflects the need for dependent care allowances for women re-entering the labour force.

Responses to the reduction in direct purchase expenditure. The proposed reductions in direct purchase expenditure by the federal government, drew strong reaction from Opposition Members of Parliament, and provincial Ministers with labour market responsibilities.

The following exchange took place in the House of Commons, on 26 November 1985:

> Hon. Warren Allmand: We know that several provinces are angry and feel deceived with the federal Government's decision to cut by 50 percent its purchase of job training from the provinces. . . .I am asking the Prime Minister if he will cancel the proposed cuts?
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr Speaker, the emphasis of the Canadian Jobs Strategy is on training.
>
> Mr. Allmand: Nobody believes you.
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald: And there will be more money spent on training by this Government than there has ever been in the past
> (Hansard, 26 November 1985).

Over the following six months, the Minister continued to argue that substantial CEIC funding was available to public institutions through CJS. The Minister explained:

> Mr Speaker, it is true that in the direct funding to provinces there will be less money. However, I can also assure the Hon. Member that through the Canadian Jobs Strategy, and the training that will go to provinces and community colleges indirectly, the provinces will be able to acquire more moneys provided they make their systems relevant to the needs of people who want to get into the job market (Hansard, 6 June 1986).

The provincial Ministers, with labour market responsibilities, also expressed strong concerns in relation to the forecast decreases in direct purchase expenditure.

A series of meetings of the Federal-Provincial-

Territorial Ministers' Committee on Labour Market Matters took place from September 1985. The purpose of the meetings was to discuss the manner, and the extent to which federal direct purchase expenditure in institutional training would be adjusted, in the light of the introduction of CJS and the forthcoming need to reach federal-provincial training agreements with each province.

These excerpts from the transcripts of a meeting held on 25 September 1985 reflect the concerns of various provincial Ministers. The statement of each Minister is identified by the Minister's province, and is addressed to the Minister of Employment and Immigration.

> Ontario (Chairman, on behalf of the Provinces and Territories): We are concerned about the preservation of resources but we realize you and your government are under constraints in terms of deficit reduction. But stability must be maintained. . . .Funding levels should be kept stable over the next three years. We fear that decreases will make institutional training less effective.
>
> Quebec: How can small businesses use training funds when in most cases they feel no need for training? How can institutions plan when courses are bought one by one? Quebec is asking that direct funding levels be maintained.
>
> New Brunswick: It will lead to deterioration of our community colleges. I'm the first to agree that our institutions need modernizing, but let's not throw out the baby with the bathwater.
>
> Manitoba: It seems to me that there is a premise behind this redirection that there is a serious problem with institutions. We have not had enough discussion. We haven't had a chance to see Nielsen's task force findings nor have we seen input from the private sector.

> Saskatchewan: If Canada says changes have not worked then the onus is on Canada to show us that. We are caught up in an arbitrary cut. I challenge you to design a better system than the one we have.
>
> British Columbia: How do we know that it is direct financing that has to be changed? British Columbia supports the concerns around the table.
>
> Prince Edward Island: If the new program doesn't work that's where the provinces have their problems. What happens if the indirect pickup doesn't occur?

Of particular concern to Alberta was the manner, and the extent to which, federal support of apprenticeship training would continue under CJS. Apprenticeship training had traditionally accounted for approximately half of Alberta's regional allocation.

> Alberta: With respect to apprenticeship, Alberta feels that this is the most employment responsive model. I'm prepared to see the system reviewed . . . but discussions should be at a bilateral level.

After the provincial Ministers had expressed their concerns, the federal Minister responded:

> There appears to be a misunderstanding here. The federal government is not getting out of direct purchase. The bottom line would be 45% over a three year period. . . .That, I think is manageable. [Further] the pick up from the indirect purchase could be a lot more than 10% [in the first year].

"Indirect purchase" was the term used by the Minister to refer to purchases of training by third parties (such as small businesses and non-profit organizations), using CEIC funds.

Under continued criticism, with the provinces asking for a three year transition, and the maintenance of current funding levels while bilateral reviews take place, the Minister answered:

> My compromise is a slow introduction of cuts at 10%, 15% and 20%; and after the first year we will review how indirect purchase has worked.

The New Brunswick Minister responded to this compromise as follows:

> I don't feel a review is necessary. I'm not prepared to go along with 10%, 15% and 20% cuts. Give us a year's grace, and if indirect purchase works, then consider a cut.

At a subsequent meeting on 6 November 1985, the federal Minister made a significant concession, and gave the provincial Ministers the following assurance:

> I am perfectly prepared to see that you will have certain guarantees of funding . . . so that you don't fall below the 100 per cent next year [1986/87]; [and] I mean I thought that as we were working out various projects under the Canadian Jobs Strategy, that training would be picked up where possible by institutions, and in the absence of that being accomplished in this first year, in any particular region, we were going to guarantee the difference. . . .That is why we have put in the contingency fund. It is $100 million.

This assurance that the provinces would be compensated for any discrepancy between the level of indirect purchase and the cut in direct purchase funding in 1986/87, was to have an important impact on the delivery of CJS, particularly the larger volume programs, Job Entry and Job Development.

Staff at RHQ indicated that as the contingency fund was multipurposed, it was soon depleted. They indicated that consequently, pressure was placed upon individual regions to ensure that indirect purchase from public institutions became a priority in assessing project proposals. The policy impacts resulting from the Minister's assurance are presented in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9.

Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. While the assurance of compensation had been given for the first year, senior officials of EIC, Intergovernmental Affairs, and ACDE indicated that there were deeper concerns expressed through the training agreement negotiations in Alberta.

The provincial view, as presented by ACDE personnel, was that differences in attitudes toward equity had been the major stumbling block in negotiations. They commented that these differing attitudes had been most strongly evidenced in the discussion of continued CEIC funding of apprenticeship training. One provincial official, involved in the negotiations, argued that

> In Alberta, a relationship develops between the employer and the apprentice. The province does not believe in telling the employer who to hire. The employer's stance on equity needs to be a personal decision after the employer has been made aware of equity issues through advertising and information sessions. This should be supplemented by giving the target group individuals [women, natives, visible minorities and disabled] career counselling. [The provincial view is that] equity is when everyone gets an equal opportunity, not the affirmative action version of equity promoted through CJS. Affirmative action will lead to social engineering and pushing people into jobs. That is not the philosophy of this government.

One senior RHQ official stated that the Alberta government lacked a philosophical base, did not believe in the target group concept, and was preoccupied with the idea that CEIC "wants to move in on its apprenticeship program, its sacred cow." This official contended that

> The Province has been defensive and uptight regarding Canada's [CEIC] criticism of the appalling representation of women in their apprenticeship program;

and that further

> [the province] doesn't like the idea of funds syphoned off to the private sector. They argue that they have an infrastructure to maintain.

An Intergovernmental Affairs representative present at the negotiations cited a jurisdictional issue influencing the negotiations. This issue concerned the use of private trainers, who were not provincially approved. The provincial government wanted the right to attest the pedagogical soundness of all training undertaken through CJS, with the concomitant right that the federal government reject training plans, which received a negative assessment by the province.

The final negotiations at the regional level were undertaken solely between the Deputy Minister of ACDE and the Regional Director General of EIC. As I concluded monitoring the Direct Purchase Option toward the end of November 1986, an agreement was reached between these senior officials, but this agreement still awaited the signatures of the provincial and federal Ministers.

The terms of the unsigned agreement were described by the Intergovernmental Affairs representative as "a good Canadian compromise". He explained these terms as follows:

First, CEIC would work with Alberta to promote target group participation, (the terms were not specified).

Second, in relation to the attestation issue, both the province and CEIC agreed that the province did have a concern about the quality of training. Therefore, a trial period of provincial involvement and review would be undertaken "to determine the degree to which the province could have a role" (quote).

Third, the status quo in relation to the apprenticeship issue would be maintained until a study of apprenticeship training is carried out and reviewed.

In addition, section 13.2 of the draft agreement included this reference to financial agreements:

> In 1987-88 and 1988-89, Canada agrees to make available sufficient program funds to realize the intent of increasing, relative to 1985-86, the real level of training funds accessible to public post-secondary institutions in Alberta.

## Interpretations

### Historical Context

Recurrent education, as evidenced in the Direct Purchase Option displays some of the characteristics of systems discussed by Kallen (1979), Houghton and Richardson (1974), and OECD (1975).

First, Kallen (1979) described an early interpretation of recurrent education as a replica of youth education for adults with disadvantaged adults receiving priority. In the Direct Purchase Option, persons wishing to enter or re-enter the labour force commonly undertook courses closely resembling those given traditionally to youth, for example, academic upgrading (BTSD), and language training.

Second, Houghton and Richardson (1973) proposed that recurrent education should aim at provision for all, and especially those excluded from current practice. They also suggested that recurrent education should encompass the development of life skills, as well as occupational skills. Vocational skill training was undertaken by employed individuals referred under Skill Shortages or Skill Investment criteria. Similarly, unemployed persons referred under Job Entry or Job Development criteria were given instruction in vocational skills, but also received life skills training (JRT).

Third, the 1975 OECD report, Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues, made reference to the importance of linking recurrent education to other aspects of social policy. The participant income support system, with training allowances based upon the number of dependents and the provision for dependent care allowances, shows evidence of such a linkage. OECD (1975) also proposed that recurrent education should be more directly engaged with employment policies. The forecasting procedures and the referral process were seen to involve those aspects of employment policy related to the participant's potential for ongoing employment. Further, the use of unemployment insurance as income support may be viewed as a direct engagement of employment policy with recurrent education.

## Motives

Levin and Schutze (1983) argued that the diversity of motives represented the major political obstacle to the adaption and implementation of a comprehensive system of recurrent education. Productive efficiency, social participation and equity, and institutional change were suggested as themes under which various motives may be classified.

The Direct Purchase Option was concerned with aspects of each of these themes. First, the objective to meet the skill requirements of a changing economy implies a focus upon increasing productive efficiency. Second, the aim to increase the earning and employment potential of individual workers would appear to relate to promoting equity, at least as this relates to participants classified under Job Entry or Job Development criteria. Third, the announcement by the Minister that in order to attract funding, public institutions be more responsive to the needs of individuals wishing to enter the job market, would seem to indicate a motive for institutional change.

## Obstacles to Participation

Timmermann (1983) suggested that social background and the individual's past experiences with, and attitude to, education may inhibit participation. Jackson and Weatherby (1975) contended that the form and amount of financial contribution was an improtant factor in deciding to undertake training. The use of ad hoc courses directed at the needs of target groups, and the possibility for individuals on social assistance or unemployment insurance to continue these forms of income support, may be seen as attempts to lessen those obstacles.

Timmermann (1983) also suggested that the organization of work influenced an individual's ability to participate.

This factor was addressed through the opportunity for part-time training. RHQ personnel contended that workers, in most need of training, were often precluded from participation because their jobs were organized on a shift-work basis and therefore difficult to coordinate with courses scheduled to coincide with regular working hours. This contention by RHQ personnel reflects the suggestion by Timmermann (1983) that some jobs may have less recurrent education "value" or "closeness".

## Equity Principles

Vertical equity. Thomas (1980) describes vertical equity as involving specific or supplementary treatment to those whose problems result from social, economic, or educational deprivation. In limiting participation to those who are considered to be experiencing difficulty in making the transition to the labour market or to those who are chronically unemployed, the eligibility criteria for the Job Entry and Job Development Programs are examples of vertical equity. In fact, the Re-Entry Option criterion, through disallowing male participants may be viewed as positivism, or affirmative action (McMahon, 1982).

Other examples of vertical equity are the reservation of the first 30% of places on course waiting lists for members of target groups, and the shorter time out-of-school requirement for Natives.

Horizontal equity. Thomas (1980) defined the avoidance of arbitrary discrimination against individuals or groups as horizontal equity.

From comparing participant characteristics, workers referred under Skill Investment criteria may be viewed as experiencing less severe forms of disadvantage than participants referred under Job Entry or Job Development criteria. Skill Investment criteria would appear to give less emphasis to supplementary treatment of the disadvantaged, and therefore more closely resemble horizontal equity than either Job Entry or Job Development criteria.

Commutative equity versus positivism. McMahon (1982) describes commutative equity as non-interference by government in the marketplace. On the other hand, he explains that positivism (or affirmative action) aims toward the elimination of intergenerational inequity. These opposite views of equity were evidenced in the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations.

The provincial view was that it is the employer's right to decide whom to hire. This stance reflected aspects of commutative equity. Howevr, provincial officials did indicate that employer information sessions were designed to assist an employer to make a more informed decision.

Provincial officials regarded the emphasis in CJS upon those most in need as a form of affirmative action. They reasoned that the federal government wished to control employers' choices by proposing to provide financial assistance only to those apprentices who satisfied CJS criteria.

The federal government view was that some apprentices did not satisfy CJS criteria, and that some were not genuinely unemployed and entitled to income support. Federal officials questioned the commutative equity stance of the provincial government, in arguing that apprentices were in fact receiving special treatment.

## Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

Smith (1973) contends that policy is an attempt by government to induce changes, and thereby serves as a tension-generating force in society (see Figure 2.1).

Decreases in direct purchase expenditure. The forecast decreases in direct purchase expenditure accompanying the introduction of CJS, and the emphasis on the private sector, generated tension with Opposition Members of Parliament and provincial Ministers with labour market responsibilities. In Smith's terms, the tension resulted from interactions between environmental factors (Opposition Members and provincial Ministers) and the idealized policy (CJS policy documents and Ministerial actions). The transaction produced by this tension led to the federal Minister's assurance that the discrepancy between the level of indirect purchase and the decrease in direct purchase expenditure would be compensated. This assurance fed back through the policy-making process and resulted in the policy change that proposals with public institutional training be given priority.

Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. Equity and attestation issues which emerged through the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations, also served to generate tensions. The equity issue, particularly as it related to continuing federal support of apprentices, led to interactions between the implementing organization (EIC) and environmental factors (provincial officials). These interactions related to the idealized policy and the target groups which that policy was designed to serve.

The attestation issue also led to interactions between the implementing organization (EIC) and environmental factors (provincial officials), based upon understandings of the idealized policy. The provincial concern was that the policy, with the exception of the Direct Purchase Option program element, allowed non-provincially approved trainers to provide instruction and receive federal funding.

The transactions which resulted from these tensions led to the compromises included in the draft Agreement. At the time when monitoring was concluded, these compromises had not fed back through the policy making process to induce policy changes.

## Notions of Politics and Political Systems

The tensions relating to the decreases in direct purchase expenditure and to the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations are closely linked to the notions of politics suggested by Scribner and Englert (1977) and

Iannacone (1967,1980). These notions of politics concern the management of conflicts about the allocation of value, and the attempts of individuals or groups to secure government support for their values.

The provincial Ministers gained support for their value by winning an assurance from the federal Minister to maintain their level of funding for the first year (their value). The federal Minister managed the conflict through giving that assurance.

The provincial and federal officials involved in the training agreement negotiations reached a compromise. Neither group maintained their original value. The proposed apprenticeship study and the agreements on courses of action relating the equity and attestation issues were evidence of conflict management performed by both parties.

Burlingame (1977) contends that political systems may possess few rational or hierarchial characteristics such as tight linkages among inputs, conversion processes, and outputs. Instead, he argues that the concept of a negotiated order better characterizes the relationships between individuals and governments. This conception may be used to interpreting the finding that, despite the lack of a formal federal-provincial agreement, individuals continued to be referred to courses. Federal and provincial officials responsible for policy implementation recognized the continuing need to place individuals in training in spite of the lack of legal authority and federal contributions.

A further example of a negotiated order pertained to the establishment of the apprenticeship per diem. Both federal and provincial officials recognized the significance of federal government income support. By the federal government paying UI to apprentices, the financial burden of the provincial government was lessened. This was recognized by negotiating a per diem which was less than the amount required for full cost recovery. for apprenticeship.

## Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Mitchell's (1984,1985) framework identifies governments as either social service agencies or conflict management mechanisms, which may either fulfil social purposes directly or indirectly (see Figure 2.4).

Structuralism. This dimension emphasizes conflict management through direct government control. Mitchell (1985) concludes that structuralist theories give prominence to equity. CJS policy documents identify this prominence in detailing eligibility criteria and the focus upon serving those most in need. Federal ad hoc courses may be viewed as evidence of direct government action which attempts to eliminate social conflict. These courses were offered on request of the federal government, and were fully subsidized by federal funds, to address specific needs, particularly those related to Natives.

Functionalism. This dimension identifies governments as primarily social service agencies which attempt to fulfil social goals through cooperative development of direct services. References in policy documents and statements by the Minister commonly described CJS as a cooperative endeavour involving the provinces, postsecondary institutions, and the private sector. Provincial ad hoc courses may be viewed as evidence of government action from the functionalist perspective. In developing these courses, liaison was required between CECs, neighbouring postsecondary institutions, and the provincial government. The extent of direct government control would appear related to the institution's need for government participation. Where the course was viable with limited government participation, government influence may be less direct, and government action more closely related to an interactionist perspective.

Exchange theory. The conception of policy from an exchange theory perspective identifies governments as conflict management mechanisms which exercise indirect control through subsidizing and manipulating private activity. This conception of policy was evident in the federal Minister's negotiations with provincial Ministers, and in the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. Both events involved the federal government as a conflict management mechanism indirectly controlling the choices and actions of the other party. In addition, the second party in each case was able to influence the federal government. The federal Minister's assurance and the compromises in the draft agreement were evidence of this influence.

# CHAPTER 6

# Skill Shortages

The Skill Shortages Program is designed to

> support training directed toward the prevention and alleviation of shortages in nationally and regionally designated occupational skills, (EA 19.01,1).

The Workplace-Based Option of the Skill Shortages Program is the focus of this chapter. The other component of the program, the Direct Purchase Option, is discussed in Chapter 5.

## Policy Inputs and Processes

### Option Design

The federal government through the Workplace-Based Option provides financial assistance to employers who wish to train employees in designated skill shortage occupations (EA 19.01).

The nature of the government's supporting role was expressed in the report of the national consultation process initiated by the Minister of Employment and Immigration, the Hon. Flora MacDonald. The report read:

> Governments have an active role to play in training when there is a shortage of skills that cannot be met by private initiatives alone. However the primary responsibility for such training rests with workers themselves, and with employers. (EIC, NC:7).

The option is delivered through the local Canada Employment Centres (CECs).

Designation of skill shortages. RHQ personnel explained that the original list of designated occupations was developed from a national listing related to EIC programming prior to CJS. During the first year of operation, decisions were made to add four occupations to this list. Those decisions were taken with reference to quantitative and qualitative data provided by local CECs. This data included the number of requests by employers for individuals with particular skills, as well as intuitive forecasts based on knowledge of the local economy.

These decisions, taken by the Executive Director of CJS at NHQ on the basis of information provided by RHQ personnel, occurred prior to the development of formal guidelines.

In September 1986, guidelines for the designation of shortages were established and incorporated in the EIC Employment Manual (EA 19).

The general requirements for designation were described as follows:

> (i) Labour market evidence of an existing or potential occupational skill shortage [is] sufficiently severe to warrant program intervention by CEIC.
>
> (ii) Training action under the Skill Shortages Program [is appropriate] as a means of improving the shortage situation (EA 19.08,1c).

Associated with these requirements were the following assessment criteria:

1. The Level of Occupation Detail. The occupational title must be sufficiently descriptive to indicate the actual skill which is to be designated for training.

2. The Magnitude / Severity of Shortage. The magnitude of the shortage in absolute terms is important in determining the appropriate volume of training response. Severity is assessed by the extent to which a shortage in a particular occupation may inhibit economic growth.

3. Extent of Shortage. Localized shortages may be considered for designation but, in such cases, there must be an assessment of the significance of the industry experiencing the shortage to the local, regional or national economy.

4. Persistency / Duration of Shortage. The expected duration of a shortage must be estimated, and the duration and cost of training needs to be considered in assessing the desirability of training to meet temporary needs.

(Source: EA 19.08 and Draft Guidelines)

Consultation was proposed as a key element in the designation process. Examples from CJS policy documents include:

> CEIC will designate occupational skills after consultation with business and labour organizations, as well as the provinces (CJS, WH3516:8), [and]
>
> Deciding on the occupational skills where shortages exist or are expected will be a joint effort involving the private sector, the provinces, and the federal government (CJS, WH3547:9).

The following summary of the designation process was compiled from information in CJS policy documents, and through interviews with RHQ personnel:

1. Submissions can be made to individual CECs by industry groups, individual employers, labour groups and Local Advisory Councils (LACs). LACs are made up of representatives of various groups from within each federal constituency. These representatives are nominated by the local Member of Parliament.

2. Personnel at RHQ analyze the submissions from CECs, and develop a list of occupations. These occupations are then recommended by the Regional Director General to the Executive Director of CJS at NHQ.

3. The Executive Director of CJS approves or rejects those recommendations.

The nature of training. Training for designated occupations can be delivered through any combination of off-the-job and on-the-job methods. Off-the-job training is defined as "training delivered in a setting where production resulting from the training is totally incidental" (EA 19.07,2a), while on-the-job training refers to "training which an employee receives while learning to perform duties during actual production under supervision" (EA 19.07,2b).

Training may range from "3 weeks to 3 years for full-time training, and 80 hours to 3 years for part-time training" (CJS, WH3516:11).

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

Process synopsis. The following description was compiled from information in CJS policy documents, project files, and from interviews with EIC personnel.

The process can be initiated in two ways. An employer may contact a local CEC. Alternately, CEC staff may canvass local businesses. When interviewed, several CEC staff indicated that the time available to market the program in the community was limited. Very often the first contact was made by the employer. In addition, the relatively small number of occupations eligible for support was cited as a further marketing difficulty.

These views were reflected in the written comments of assessing officers responsible for evaluating project applications. These comments have been taken from the proposal evaluation forms, included in the project files:

> Occupation on demand list, so really welcomed the opportunity to train in Skill Shortages, as it is the hardest program to sell.
>
> My canvass of hotels and restaurants finally paid off. [This hotel] has applied to train three chefs.

After the initial contact, interested employers are sent a proposal form on which they are to describe the purpose of the training and the training plan. CEC staff have a responsibility "to assist employers in the preparation of proposals" (EA 19.20,3c). Usually the employer works with one employment counsellor or project officer throughout the proposal development stage.

The decision to recommend the proposal is taken by the assessing officer, at the CEC. Project approval can be given by the CEC Manager or by more senior personnel at RHQ, depending upon the contract value. While approval authority rests with the regions and CECs,

> NHQ must be consulted on all Skill Shortages proposals where the value exceeds $250,000. The Commission [CEIC] made this decision because of the need to keep the Minister aware of all major proposals (from a memorandum sent to Regional Directors General from the Executive Director of CJS, dated 26 May 1985).

Skill Acquisition. The primary criterion to be eligible for assistance is that

> training must be in areas of regionally or nationally designated existing or potential occupational skill shortages (EA 19.08,1a).

The responsibility of the employer for the delivery of such training is granted subject to these specific criteria:

> Employers who wish to participate must provide, upon request, evidence of technical competence to implement and operate the training proposal, [and] develop a training plan. . . . (EA 19.05,3).

In relation to these criteria, RHQ personnel indicated that the training plan for the particular designated occupational skill must be considered viable. They added that viability was determined through assessing the trainer's qualifications and the method of training (i.e., the duration and format of on-the-job and off-the-job instruction).

Wherever possible, employment counsellors were required to encourage employers to purchase training from public institutions. This requirement resulted from the federal Minister's assurance to provincial Ministers that the reductions in CEIC direct purchase expenditure for institutional training would be compensated (see Chapter 5).

Employment Opportunities. Training in designated skill shortages was cited in CJS policy documents as an effective basis upon which to foster participants' employment opportunities [(EA 19), (CJS, WH3516)].

In addition, seasonality and transferability were considered important criteria in assessing proposals (EA 19.08,1e). Skills which were not likely to lead to continuous employment, or skills "which are unique to the present employment situation" were not considered eligible for government support (EA 19.08,3).

Evidence of the application of these criteria is presented in these examples, taken from assessing officers' reports:

> The training program has general elements transferable to wider applications.
>
> The trainee will receive dairy management training, thus allowing him to find a job anywhere in the dairy industry.

Another factor considered in assessing proposals was the potential for training to prevent unemployment. These examples of employers' statements were taken from training proposals in project files:

> Employee's position is being eliminated.
>
> This proposal has been submitted in order to train two employees that were scheduled for lay-off.

Equality of Participation. The eligibility criterion for the Skill Shortages Program is "any individual who has the capacity to be trained in designated skills" (CJS, WH3516). In relation to the Workplace-Based Option, this criterion refers to employed workers and self-employed persons.

While this criterion may be interpreted to allow employers considerable freedom when selecting employees for training, those who wish to participate must "provide equal opportunity for members of target groups to participate fully in the training program" (EA 19.05,3a). Therefore in submitting proposals, employers are required to indicate that the inclusion of target group members has been considered.

However RHQ personnel indicated that it was sometimes difficult for employers to include target group members. They explained that employers commonly had few such individuals on their staff. Further, those employees from whom the training was most appropriate (as a consequence of their present position) tended not to be members of target groups.

Equity of the Financial Burden. The Skill Shortages Program is described as "a training program designed to respond incrementally to specific local labour market needs" (EA 19.01,2). Incremental training refers to "those training situations which would not have otherwise occurred without program assistance" (EA 19.02,2).

The employer's proposal should include "a detailed estimate of the costs involved [and] justification for CEIC financial support" (EA 19.21).

In assessing a proposal, CEC personnel are required to determine whether the training to be provided is incremental. According to CEC personnel this requirement was met essentially through asking the employer why support was needed. They added that further investigation of the employer's "ability-to-pay" was not possible or practical in that the level of detail required and the amount of time needed to thoroughly assess each case would probably discourage employer participation.

Contribution Schedule for Employers

Employers may receive maximum wage reimbursements of $350 per week for each employee undertaking the training. The rate of reimbursement is calculated at

> 60 percent of the weekly wage for off-the-job training and 25 percent of the weekly wage for on-the-job training (EA 19.09,4b).

This funding policy is deemed to take into account "the employee's productivity loss during off-the-job training and the employee's growing productivity during on-the-job training" (CJS, WH3501:1).

In the cases of self-employed persons, the average weekly draw is used to determine the level of reimbursement. Direct training costs may also be reimbursed. Two methods have been used to calculate the level of reimbursement since the Skill Shortages Program became operational. The first method, used between September 1985 and May 1986, was to cover "the employer's eligible training costs up to $30 per day for each trainee, plus 50 percent of costs exceeding $30" (CJS, WH3501:1). Eligible training costs referred to fixed costs such as instructors' salaries, course tuition fees, and rental of premises and equipment, as well as variable costs, namely the travel and living expenses of trainees.

This method of calculation was changed by a Treasury Board decision in May 1986. Thereafter employers were to be reimbursed for 75% of their fixed costs and 50% of their variable costs. RHQ personnel explained that the new formula was aimed to ensure incrementality by requiring employers to contribute a portion of the costs. Under the previous method, employers could have received 100% reimbursement if their training costs were less than $30 per day.

Employers may also receive up to $10,000 to defray costs resulting from requirements associated with hiring disabled persons. Some examples are the purchase of special equipment and training material or "the physical adaption of the employee's facilities to permit access to training or to the workplace" (EA 19.09,4d).

Additional costs relating to "developing training plans, finding training personnel, monitoring training and evaluating performance of trainees" are eligible for reimbursement of up to 4% of the employer's total direct training costs (EA 19.09,4e).

Finally, additional subsidies of up to 25% of the total value of the agreement are available to employers who are "unable to contribute the normal proportion of wage cost, and where the failure to train will result in a loss of employment opportunities" (EA 19.09,4f). Examples of situations which may need an individual to request a special subsidy include:

(i) a non-profit organization wishing to train its employees;

(ii) an employer who is prepared to train target group members but is unable to contribute the additional costs relating to longer training duration or additional supervision; and

(iii) an employer who is prepared to train a greater number of workers than for his/her requirements (EA 19.09,4f).

### Project Monitoring

Monitoring is performed by CEC personnel to

(i) ensure that training is occurring according to the terms of the agreement and follows the approved training plan;

(ii) discuss with the trainee and ascertain assessment of training progress and value. . . ;

(iii) discuss with employer and instructor, and obtain assessment of trainee's progress. . . ; [and]

(iv) identify if there is a need to modify the training (EA 19.22,a).

Other purposes of monitoring are to

> ascertain the adequacy of payroll and attendance records and verify these against claims; verify that costs reimbursed to the employer were actually incurred; [and] detect and prevent possible abuses (EA 19.22,a).

The payment procedure was explained by RHQ personnel as follows. The employer sends in a claim (usually once per month). The monitor from the local CEC visits the site with this claim, and completes the report. The report and the claim are signed by the CEC Manager and sent to RHQ Finance Branch. Finance Branch sends the requisition for payment to Supply and Services Canada, who prepare and mail the cheque.

## Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of training. From 4 September 1985 to 10 November 1986, 39 projects were approved and 108 individuals participated in the Workplace-Based Option. The regional list of designated occupations in effect during that time by project and participant frequency is shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Designated Occupations by Project and Participant Frequency in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option

| Occupation[1] | Project Frequency (N = 39) | Participant Frequency (N = 108) |
|---|---|---|
| Stationary Engineer, General | 4 | 55 |
| Petroleum Process Operator | 6 | 15 |
| Machinist, General | 8 | 9 |
| Electronic Equipment Repair Person | 6 | 8 |
| Head Chef | 4 | 8 |
| Farmer, Dairy | 3 | 3 |
| Instrument Mechanic | 2 | 3 |
| Repair Person, Automated Processing Equipment | 2 | 3 |
| Arts Administrator | 2 | 2 |
| Electronic Engineering Technologist | 2 | 2 |
| Computer Repair Person | - | - |
| Electronic Engineering Technician | - | - |
| Executive Chef | - | - |

Source: Project Files

[1] "Dairy Farmer", "Repair Person - Automated Processing Equipment", "Computer Repair Person" and "Instrument Mechanic" were added to the listing on 14 February 1986.

A feature of the details in Table 6.1 is the small volume of activity. An explanation offered by several RHQ personnel was that the poor economic situation in Alberta during the period had severely limited business expansion, and consequently very few occupational shortages existed. They also indicated that as the original list was developed from a national listing appropriate to EIC programming prior to CJS, it was possibly not fully compatible with the new program, or with Alberta's economy.

_Type of trainer and the method of training._ The type of trainer by project frequency and percentage frequency are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Type of Trainer
by Project Frequency and Percentage Frequency
in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option

| Type of Trainer | Frequency (N = 39) | % Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| Employer or Staff Member | 28 | 72 |
| Public Training Institution | 5 | 13 |
| Private Firm | 3 | 8 |
| Employer or Staff Member, and Public Institution | 2 | 5 |
| Other[1] | 1 | 2 |

Source: Project Files

[1] Training was undertaken outside Alberta.

The majority of instruction (78%) was carried out by either employers or staff members, using mostly on-the-job methods. The total number of hours spent in on-the-job training was 56932 (or 89.9% of the training time), compared with 6425 hours (or 10.1% of the training time) for off-the-job training.

The focus upon on-the-job training was reflected in these employers' statements written on training proposals:

> Due to the unique nature of the process, extensive training will be required . . . we would expect the majority of training to be done on-the-job.
>
> [Employees] must be trained with intensity on-the-job where they can obtain the experience to produce economically "one of of kind" parts.
>
> I find that I must train my own personnel in order to obtain the required expertise.

## Employment Opportunities

The above statements appear to contrast with the transferability criterion. In discussing this finding with CEC personnel, I was informed that proposal evaluators, in having to be knowledgeable in a large number of areas, may not have the expertise to determine the degree of uniqueness of particular skill training. Further, they suggested that the degree of uniqueness may only be evident if the trainee applies for a position with another employer.

From my analysis of the monitoring reports in project files, there was little indication of the fate of trainees once training had been completed. Consequently the extent to which this option was able to foster employment opportunities was difficult to determine.

## Equality of Participation

The participant characteristics by male, female and total frequency for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option are presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 108) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 20 - 24 | 25 | 2 | 27 |
| 25 - 44 | 68 | 5 | 73 |
| 45 + | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| 09 - 10 | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| 11 - 12 | 82 | 6 | 88 |
| Postsecondary | 10 | 1 | 11 |
| Wage Rate ($ per hour) | | | |
| < 7.50 | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| 7.50 - 9.99 | 17 | 1 | 18 |
| 10.00 - 12.49 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| 12.50 - 15.00 | 23 | 2 | 25 |
| > 15.00 | 47 | 2 | 49 |
| Target Group Participation | | | |
| Native | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Disabled | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Visible Minority | 4 | 0 | 4 |

Source: Project Files

Most participants were between 25 and 44 years of age. Approximately 94% of participants were male. The average wage rate was $13.64 per hour. Over 91% of participants had attained an education level of grade 11 or higher.

Industrial training consultants at RHQ contended that these details were largely a reflection of the age, sex, level of education and wage rate of participants in occupations from which training in the designated occupations could be undertaken. They argued that jobs in these designated occupations were not usually "entry level" positions. Consequently, target group representation was likely to be minimal.

The Regional Director General addressed this issue in a memorandum to the Deputy Minister, and recommended that there be

> more flexibility in occupations that target group members can be trained in, for example - a specific native list for training needs on reserves.

The needs of target group members were addressed in the recommendations for designation sent to the Executive Director of CJS by the Regional Director General, in October 1986. The listing included the following occupations: Band Administrator, Social Worker, Addictions Counsellor, and Community Resource Worker.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Employer costs and CEIC contributions by selected types of expenditure are presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4

Type of Expenditure
by Employer Cost, CEIC Contribution, and % Reimbursement
in Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option

| Type of Expenditure | Employer Cost | CEIC Contribution | % Reimbursement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employee Wages | 949268.70 | 270776.50 | 28.5 |
| Tuition Fees | | | |
| Public Institution | 61160.27 | 45686.72 | 74.7 |
| Private Trainer | 6993.05 | 4314.71 | 61.7 |
| Travel/Living Expenses | 37646.34 | 21202.16 | 56.3 |

Source: Project Files

The overall wage cost reimbursement rate (28.5%) reflects the focus on on-the-job training, for which employers were reimbursed for 25% of their employees' wages.

Direct training costs (tuition fees) were incurred in 15 of the 39 projects. The change to the 75% rate of reimbursement for these costs would appear to benefit employers where they purchased training from private trainers.

On the other hand, the change to the 50% rate of reimbursement for travel and living expenses represents a slight increase in the financial burden for employers, when compared with their former reimbursement level (56.3%).

In searching project files, there was little evidence of employer concern with these rates of reimbursement. However, the Regional Director General did suggest in a memorandum to the Executive Director of CJS at NHQ that additional financial incentives be provided to employers for target group participation. These incentives were envisaged to supplement the special measures for disabled persons and special subsidies already available to employers.

Neither special measures for disabled persons nor special subsidies were allocated to employers. An explanation offered by one staff member at RHQ was that due to the small representation of target group members, the opportunity to allocate these types of funds was limited.

## Interpretations

### Historical Context

The 1975 OECD report **Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues** called for more direct linkage of recurrent education with employment policies. The Workplace-Based Option demonstrates this linkage through solely focussing on training in designated occupational skill shortages.

### Motives

The type of skills trained for, and the reasons for undertaking such training, primarily reflect the motive of increasing productive efficiency. While target levels for disadvantaged groups were established, little further emphasis was given to issues of social participation and equity. Similarly while employers were encouraged to purchase training from educational institutions, most training was given by employers or staff members. The design of this option reflected the view of Levin and Schutze (1983) that with implementation, recurrent education may become a narrower concept. In this option, the motive of increasing productivity was dominant.

## Obstacles to Participation

Provided that the chosen employee has the capacity to be trained in the designated skill, few of the obstacles to participation suggested by Timmermann (1983) and Jackson and Weatherby (1975) remain. For example, the organization of work would not be likely to inhibit participation since 90% of the training time was spent using on-the-job methods. Second, factors relating to admission requirements of institutions would not appear as major barriers since the majority of the training (72%) was given by employers, or staff members. Third, the emphasis upon on-the-job methods may be considered to lessen the financial burden of employers. While the rate of wage reimbursement is higher for off-the-job training, this may be more than compensated by the production accompanying on-the-job training.

## Equity Principles

The eligibility criterion appeared to be closely identified with aspects of horizontal equity described by Thomas (1980) as the avoidance of arbitrary discrimination against individuals or groups. Eligibility was based on the capacity of the individual to be trained in designated skills, rather than a measure of the individual's social, economic, or educational disadvantage.

Some attention was given to vertical equity. Attempts were made to encourage the participation of target group members through special allowances and the requirement that employers demonstrate that these individuals will be given an equal opportunity to participate. However, emphasis on vertical equity was limited. No special allowances were allocated, and no proposals were rejected through the lack of target group participation.

## Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

Smith's (1973) model of policy implementation may be applied to interpret the influence of the economy upon the listing of designated skill shortages.

EIC personnel considered that the poor state of the economy severely limited the volume of activity and frustrated their attempts to implement the policy. In Smith's model, this may be viewed as a tension brought about by an interaction between the implementing organization (EIC) and environmental factors (the state of the economy).

The transaction which resulted from this tension was a change in the designation process, to allow localized designated shortages (rather than regional shortages), and designated shortages relating to target groups. These changes were aimed at increasing the volume of activity.

## Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Functionalism. Mitchell (1985) explains that the functionalist perspective assumes governments act as service delivery agencies which engage in the cooperative development of direct services to pursue specific public purposes. The direct action of the government is evidenced through its role in designating skills, project approval and monitoring.

Policy is defined as a proposed course of action to reach a goal which would not be possible through private actions alone. CJS policy documents, and Ministerial statements reflect this conception by referring to the need for governments to assume an active role where shortage of skills cannot be met by private initiatives alone.

Interactionism. Mitchell (1985) suggests that the interactionist perspective assumes governments act as service delivery agencies through indirect encouragement of cooperative action by private citizens. Policy is described as having its effects by controlling how people define problems.

Some examples of interactionism were evident in the proposal development process. In order to generate activity, CEC personnel canvassed employers, informing them of the program and asking whether it could serve their needs. This action may be viewed as indirectly encouraging employers to define problems and to participate in the program.

Structuralism and Exchange Theory. The remaining components of Mitchell's framework assume governments act as conflict management mechanisms. These perspectives do not appear appropriate in describing government action in the Workplace-Based Option. Such perspectives presume scarcity. The actions of EIC in attempting to increase the volume of activity would suggest that scarcity was not a major concern.

# CHAPTER 7

## Skill Investment

The general objective of the Skill Investment Program is "to assist employed workers to obtain new skills in response to changing technology and markets" (EA 28.02).

There are four options under the Skill Investment Program. These are Small Business Training, Extended Training Leave, Training Trust Fund, and Direct Purchase. Findings related to the first three options are presented, in turn, in this chapter. The remaining option, Direct Purchase is described in Chapter 5.

### Small Business Training Option: Policy Inputs and Processes

### Objective

The Small Business Training Option is designed to support the general objective of the Skill Investment Program by "provid[ing] incentives to employers to retrain workers for newly required skills . . . or as an alternative to layoffs" (EA 28.03,3).

### ~~The~~ Development and Evaluation of Proposals

CEC personnel deliver this program element and they are expected to:

> promote and market the option; provide employers with required documents, guidance and assistance in the preparation of proposals; [and] . . . assess and approve proposals (EA 28.30,3).

Authority to approve proposals is delegated by the Minister to CEC Managers or more senior staff at RHQ depending upon the contract value.

Skill Acquisition. Training in skills which assist employers to remain competitive, is eligible for CEIC support. This training "must be directed towards jobs in demand" (CJS, WH3498:2). The responsibility for establishing the significance of that demand lies with individual employers who apply for assistance based upon their particular circumstances.

Any combination of on-the-job and off-the-job training may be approved. The range in the duration of training, and the circumstances where training cannot be supported are the same as those described for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option.

The following employers' statements have been taken from the training proposals in project files. These statements express the need for training as a means of increasing productive efficiency:

> I need the skills to run this equipment so I can repair my farm equipment rapidly and economically. . . .
>
> In order to survive in today's marketplace, we must become better managers of our costs and revenue sources. We believe that the most efficient way to do this is to become proficient users of the computer that we have available to us.
>
> Employee works for a tribal council [whose] future needs are for someone who can handle computer-based information systems.
>
> Training is required to remain competitive with increased competition.

Assessing Officers, in completing evaluation forms for successful proposals, wrote these comments relating to possible impacts of the training on employer competitiveness:

> [the individual] wishes to diversify his marketability. The training is warranted to render him competitive.
>
> the proposed training plan suggests that such training is necessary to keep up with technological changes. . . .
>
> The program will provide this small employer with improved manpower skills . . . to make his operation more competitive.

Another factor considered in evaluating proposals is training plan viability. Viability is determined through taking into account "trainee background and experience, the contents, the methodology, [and] the training schedule" (EA 28.36,1c) as well as the qualifications and reputations of the trainer(s). Examples of statements concerning training plan viability appear below. These were written by Assessing Officers on proposal evaluation forms:

> Practical experience is required and is provided by the employer. [The company] has had previous CEIC training contracts and has proven reliable and responsible.
>
> Trainee will get excellent training under the senior accountant.
>
> These men cannot get their certification unless they have completed these courses at a recognized school.

An aspect of training plan viability related to the Minister's directive to encourage employers to purchase training from public institutions. This excerpt taken from a newsletter sent from RHQ to CECs in July 1986 resulted from that directive:

> One of the goals of the Canadian Jobs Strategy is to gradually redirect training funds away from direct institutional purchase by CEIC to the indirect purchase of institutional training by employers. In 1986/87 our Regional goal is to devote 10% of the budget allocation [of the Skill Investment Program] to training costs at public institutions (Program Update: Alberta/Northwest Territories Region, Volume 1, Number 1, 1986/87).

Employment Opportunities. To receive support, the employer must establish that the prospective trainee's job "must be such that sensitivity to technological or market changes is most likely to lead to displacement" (EA 28.04,2). This criterion represents a second motive underlying the general objective of the Skill Investment Program, that of preventing unemployment. The dual motives of preventing unemployment and maintaining or improving productive efficiency are evidenced in the following:

> The focus is upon technological and market changes which have a significant impact for the employer to remain competitive, and which require employees to upgrade current skills of learn new skills in order to retain employment (EA 28.01,3).

These employer's statements have been taken from the training proposal in project files. These express the need for training as a means of preventing unemployment:

> This employee must be trained to operate accounting packages, spreadsheets and word processing. If this is not learned, the employee may have to be replaced . . . .
>
> The Alberta Government have indicated that all personnel will have to be certified to retain employment.
>
> This is a new requirement of Alberta Power. It will enable [the employee] to work on Alberta Power Contracts.

> Employee is in a part-time position. We are in need of a trained person in a full-time position. We would prefer to keep employee and train her, but if we cannot we will have to hire a trained person.

Assessing Officers, in completing evaluation forms for successful proposals, wrote these comments relating to the possible impacts of the training on participants' employment opportunities:

> The proposed courses will enhance the trainee's opportunity for advancement.
>
> This client will only be retained is she participates in the program.
>
> Dropping oil prices have had an adverse effect on employment. Without the proposed training, both individuals are faced with lay-off.
>
> At completion of training, employee will be highly trained and very likely to continue present employment and should be highly marketable.

Equality of Participation. To be eligible for CEIC assistance, the prospective trainee can be either an employee of an organization employing no more than 99 individuals, or a self-employed person (EA 28.31).

In applying for support, the employer must "provide equal opportunity for members of target groups to participate fully in the training program" (EA 28.10,3g). Further, CEC personnel are required to "seek out and negotiate opportunities for target group participation (EA 28.30,3c).

These requirements as explained by RHQ personnel reflected the federal government's commitment to the principles of employment equity. Fostering participation by groups designated as having employment disadvantages (women, natives, disabled persons, and persons who are in a visible minority) was viewed by RHQ personnel as the federal government's attempt to realise that commitment.

The extent to which target group participation was encouraged was considered by RHQ and CEC personnel to depend heavily on the individual employer. They contended that in some cases, employers had no target group members on their staff or that those which they did employ "had totally unsuitable prerequisite occupations or qualifications" (quote).

The degree of emphasis to be placed on target group participation was explained in a memorandum, dated 14 October 1986, from the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development to Regional Branch Managers requesting them to send written confirmation to the CECs that

> while efforts should continue, no employer contracts in Skill Investment should be rejected just for lack of target group participation.

Equity of the Financial Burden. The principle used as the basis for establishing the level of financial support is incrementality. This principle is expressed as follows:

> The Skill Investment program does not replace the employer's basic responsibility for day to day training of the workforce. It offers support for that responsibility in cases where employers alone cannot provide workers with new skills to respond to changing technological and market conditions (CJS, WH3517:4).

RHQ personnel indicated that questions regarding the employers "ability to pay" were seldom examined at length. The comments of several staff members are noted below:

> That question is never asked. In any case, not a great deal can be done. CEC personnel lack the time and the expertise to examine complicated financial statements.
>
> If the employer says that without training he'll lay-off the employee, then the government's action is incremental.
>
> EIC has to do business too. Employers need encouragement to retrain their staff.

If the principle of incrementality is satisfied and the employer can

> provide, upon request evidence, of financial competence to implement and maintain the training project to a satisfactory conclusion (EA 28.10,3a),

then various types and levels of financial support are available. The employer can receive the following reimbursements for employee wages:

> In all cases the maximum wage reimbursement is $350 per week.
>
> (i) Off-the-job Training: 60 percent of weekly wages;
> (ii) On-the-job Training: 25 percent of weekly wages (EA 28.32,1a).

The levels of reimbursements for fixed and variable direct training costs are the same as for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option. These levels were similarly adjusted from $30 per day and 50% of the amount in excess of $30, to 75% of fixed direct training costs and 50% of variable training costs. The reason for the change was expressed by the Director of Skill Investment at NHQ in a memorandum dated 7 May 1986 to the Regional Directors General:

> Besides simplifying the procedures, this change should result in removing an irritant for employers and reducing the program delivery costs.

The calculations of reimbursements for fixed direct training costs, such as tuition fees, were explained by RHQ personnel to involve, where possible, a comparison with the per diem used for the equivalent course under the Direct Purchase Option. In the case where courses were not offered through the Direct Purchase Option, staff members commented that the establishment of an appropriate level of direct training cost reimbursement was more difficult.

The same possible levels of reimbursement of "Additional Costs", "Special Measures for the Disabled Persons", and "Special Subsidies" apply to the Small Business Training Option as for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option.

### Project Monitoring

The reasons, frequency and procedures for monitoring projects in this program element are the same as those used in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based option. The accompanying procedure for the payment of employer claims is also the same.

## Small Business Training Option: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of training. From 4 September 1985 to 11 September 1986, 175 projects were approved and 358 individuals participated in the Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option. The types of training by the frequency of projects and CJS participants are given in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1

Type of Training by
Frequency of Projects and CJS Participants
in the Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Type of Training | Project Frequency (N = 174) | Participant Frequency (N = 358) |
|---|---|---|
| Electronic Data Processing | 52 | 140 |
| Gas Distribution Technician | 19 | 21 |
| Social Work | 17 | 26 |
| Management Training | 15 | 30 |
| Radiography | 7 | 31 |
| Metal Lathe Training | 6 | 6 |
| Computer-Aided Draughting | 3 | 7 |
| Jewellery Repair/Setting/Grading | 3 | 4 |
| Dairy Farming | 2 | 3 |
| Electronic Alarm Systems | 2 | 10 |
| Food Preparation | 2 | 2 |
| Machinist Training | 2 | 3 |
| Other[1] | 44 | 76 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The "Other" category refers to types of training which were unique to particular projects.

The type of training with the highest project and CJS participant frequencies was "Electronic Data Processing". Training in this category was defined as instruction in microcomputing and the use of software packages on wor processing, electronic spreadsheets and data bases.

Only four other types of training had project frequencies greater than six and CJS participant frequencies greater than ten. Neither of these exceeded a project frequency of 19 or a CJS participant frequency of 31. These details indicate the extent of the emphasis upon "Electronic Data Processing" in this program element.

Another feature of the information shown in Table 7.1 is the variety of training types. Fifty-six types of training (44 of which were unique) were evidenced in the 174 projects. This variety is viewed by several CEC personnel who have performed project monitoring as adding interest to their jobs but also as a demand on their expertise in assessing training performance.

In studying the monitoring reports in project files, I found a broad range of training situations and policy impacts. These comments, written by CEC personnel, represent this diversity:

> Trainee says that he is now able to perform repairs to his farm equipment.
>
> Training received enables [the trainee] to manage store in owner's absence.
>
> The contract was terminated. The trainees were not putting in sufficient training time. They were given several tests and failed badly.
>
> [Participant] felt that the quality of the training was quite poor overall. . . . As this is the 2nd student who has given negative feedback in that particular course, we should look elsewhere in the future.

> Two people trained and the rest of the staff is now being trained by our trainees. . . . The benefits are expanding.
>
> Trainee plans on taking further business administration courses.
>
> Employer stated that the trainee hasn't really learned how to manage his time effectively . . . his personality is such that he is easily exciteable, especially when dealing with customers.
>
> [The trainee] thanked me so much and said he wanted me to tell the people in our department how much he appreciated having been given the opportunity to take the training.

The occupations for which the types of training were undertaken, are presented in Table 7.2. The occupational categories have been taken from the Canadian Classification and Dictionary of Occupations (EIC, CCDO Guide 1986).

The occupational category with the highest CJS participant frequency was "Clerical". Ninety-one of the 94 individuals in this category were given instruction in "Electronic Data Processing". The next highest occupational category was "Managerial, Administrative", where 26 of the 39 individuals undertook training in "Electronic Data Processing".

The strong representation of these two occupational groups and the type of training which they received suggests that the most common activity in this program element was office automation. Office automation refers to the replacement of manual accounting and other office systems with systems based on microcomputer technology.

## Table 7.2

## Occupations for which Training was Undertaken by Type of Training and Frequency of CJS Participants in Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Occupational Category | Type of Training[1] | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| Clerical | 91 | | | | | 3 | 94 |
| Managerial, Administrative | 26 | | | 10 | | 3 | 39 |
| Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing | 5 | 2 | | | | 28 | 35 |
| Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics | 17 | 1 | | | | 9 | 27 |
| Social Sciences | | | 26 | | | 1 | 27 |
| Machining | | | | | | 20 | 20 |
| Construction | | 14 | | | | 4 | 18 |
| Processing | | | | 12 | | 5 | 17 |
| Sales | 1 | | | | | 11 | 12 |
| Services | | | | 8 | | 3 | 11 |
| Other Crafts and Equipment Operating Occupations | | 4 | | | | 6 | 10 |
| Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts | | | | | | 7 | 7 |
| Farming, Horticultural, Animal Husbandry | | | | | | 5 | 5 |
| Medicine and Health | | | | | | 3 | 3 |
| Mining, including Oil and Gas | | | | | | 3 | 3 |
| Unclassified | | | | | 31 | | 31 |
| Total | 140 | 21 | 26 | 30 | 31 | 111 | 358 |

Source: Project Files

continued . . .

1
The 5 most frequent training types have been included as separate categories as shown in the following key:

1 = Electronic Data Processing; 2 = Gas Distribution Technician; 3 = Social Work; 4 = Management Training; 5 = Radiography; 6 = Other.

The category "Other" refers to training types with CJS participant frequencies less than 21. There were 51 such training types.

Type of trainer. The types of trainers used for each training type are shown in Table 7.3.

Public institutions were used most frequently (73 projects).

Private trainers were used in 71% of projects in which instruction in electronic data processing was given. In searching project files I found that frequently the company which sold the computer and the software either provided instruction as part of their contract or recommended private trainers to the employer.

For the types of training which were unique to particular projects, "In-house" and private trainers were used more frequently than public institutions.

Method of training. The number of hours spent in on-the-job and off-the-job instruction for each training type are presented in Table 7.4.

The total number of hours spent in on-the-job training represented 72.3% of the training time, the remaining 27.7% being used for off-the-job training.

Table 7.3

Type of Training by Type of Trainer
in Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Type of Training | Type of Trainer[1] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In-house | Private | Public | Other |
| Electronic Data Processing | 6 | 39 | 10 | |
| Gas Distribution Technician | | | 19 | |
| Social Work | | | 17 | |
| Management Training | 6 | 1 | 7 | 1 |
| Radiography | | | 6 | 1 |
| Metal Lathe Training | | | 6 | |
| Computer-Aided Draughting | 1 | 2 | | |
| Jewellery Repair/Setting | 1 | | 2 | |
| Dairy Farming | 2 | | | |
| Electronic Alarm Systems | | 1 | | 1 |
| Food Preparation | 2 | | | |
| Machinist Training | 1 | 1 | | |
| Other[2] | 20 | 12 | 7 | 8 |
| Total | 39 | 56 | 73 | 13 |

Source: Project Files

[1] Where training was given by more than one type of trainer, each type was recorded.

The category "In-house" refers to instruction given by employers or staff members.

The category "Other" refers to instruction given by trainers outside Alberta.

[2] The type of training category "Other" refers to training types which were unique to particular projects.

## Table 7.4

### Type of Training by Hours Spent in Off-the-job and On-the-job Instruction in Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Type of Training | Method of Training | |
|---|---|---|
| | Off-the-job | On-the-job |
| Electronic Data Processing | 4772 | 9139 |
| Gas Distribution Technician | 3040 | |
| Social Work | 5400 | 4290 |
| Management Training | 991 | 10951 |
| Radiography | 264 | |
| Metal Lathe Training | 480 | |
| Computer-Aided Draughting | 120 | 320 |
| Jewellery Repair/Setting | 280 | 2040 |
| Dairy Farming | | 2400 |
| Electronic Alarm Systems | 160 | |
| Food Preparation | | 4160 |
| Machinist Training | | 1440 |
| Other[1] | 12639 | 38697 |
| Total | 28146 | 73437 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The category "Other" refers to training types which were unique to particular projects.

By comparing the information in Table 7.4 with that in Table 7.3, it appears that the emphasis on on-the-job training is most evident in types of training where "In-house" and private trainers are used more often than public institutions. Examples include "Electronic Data Processing", and training types which were unique to particular projects. Through examining training plans, I found that the nature of training in these cases required a high degree of on-the-job experience.

Responses of postsecondary educators, business representatives and provincial government personnel. The type of trainer and the method of training used in these projects drew various responses from postsecondary educators, business representatives and provincial government personnel.

At a conference, entitled Making Canada Productive Through Building Partnerships coordinated by the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology in cooperation with the Association of Canadian Community Colleges and Employment and Immigration Canada, held on 28 October 1986, I had the opportunity to note the responses of those groups. These were made during a forum period.

One employer was particularly critical of public institutions with regard to training in "Electronic Data Processing" in stating that

> Uni training includes almost nothing about today's micro products. Furthermore, the rapidly growing technology creates a shortage of skilled, competent people . . . so we need to train constantly [accountancy business].

Another employer commented:

> Our needs are not being met by institutions. CJS benefits us. At last on-the-job training is recognized. This will help us - it's suited to our industry [restaurant business].

While these employers criticized public institutions, others found them to be highly responsive. For example:

> We wanted hands-on microcomputer training for 17 of our construction people, over a six week period. We found Grant MacEwan College to be the cheapest and most suitable. We were able to use our slack construction period.
>
> We approached Westerra. They have been very cooperative, arranging classes to fit in with work schedules. We are sure that our partnership with Westerra will fulfill all our goals.

Later, I contacted personnel at these two public institutions and arranged interviews. The Manager of the Business Outreach Division at Grant MacEwan Community College explained:

> We have an emphasis on hands-on entry level business training, which is practical, not theoretical. Courses can be scheduled with a lot of flexibility . . . .We are market driven . . . a grassroots institution. [Other public institutions] don't need to respond like we do. Seven of the 8 staff here essentially generate their own income.

Similar comments were expressed by the Client Service Representative at Westerra Institute of Technology:

> The role of Westerra is to get out and serve the community. . . .We can't wait for the economy to turn around. Our advantage is that we're small and young, and therefore more flexible. We don't have a 25 year history with established courses and infrastructure.

This person was employed at Westerra initially on a three month contract. A major feature of his job is to attract alternative sources of funding.

However some postsecondary representatives at the conference expressed concern with CJS:

> Cooperative programs require lots of organization. There is a problem finding sufficient members of cooperating employers.

> Certification is a problem [in relation to the use of private trainers].
>
> We have excellent facilities. How can we staff up and still be productive if we have to continually change?.
>
> Our system is second to none. CJS is altering what has been a very effective arrangement.

Other postsecondary educators warned that cuts in federal funding have significant implications:

> There is a need to communicate. The postsecondary sector hasn't marketed itself. Provinces should encourage institutions to be more business-like.
>
> Postsecondary institutions have to sell their product. I believe funding will come if we have a product to sell.

Following the presentations of these postsecondary representatives, the chairman of the discussion panel concluded by claiming, "I can detect a spirit of competition here." This impression may have been gained from the postsecondary educators whose institutions had become involved with CJS programming. However, from my observations which were reflected in the statements presented, there were two other categories of response. First, there was the group who felt that CJS was interfering with an effective training system. They cited certification as a major issue. Second, there was the group who saw CJS as a possible source of funding but also recognized the need for institutions to market themselves. These observations corroborated with the impressions of RHQ personnel present at the conference.

I discussed the marketing issue with provincial officials. One official stated:

> A year ago, the Deputy Minister [of Alberta Advanced Education] insisted that provincially administered institutions must charge the regular per diem, so that their involvement can be fully cost recoverable. It was an attempt to maintain equilibrium and to stop these institutions undercutting each other. This has inhibited their ability to compete with other groups.

The provincially administered institutions to which this person referred are the Alberta Vocational Centres (AVCs) which specialize in academic upgrading. The groups with whom these institutions could not compete effectively were the board-governed institutions (the public colleges and institutes of technology) and private trainers.

A major concern of Alberta Advanced Education was expressed by provincial officials, and staff at AVC Edmonton. Federal support, available indirectly through 3rd parties such as employers, is often not ongoing. They explained that when funding is terminated, the institutions are faced with either dismantling the course or continuing the course with added cost burdens. This concern was suggested as an important reason for the lack of involvement of some public institutions.

I observed no evidence throughout the conference that postsecondary educators were aware that the purchase of training from public institutions had become a priority in evaluating employers' proposals. Had they been aware, the severity of criticism by some individuals may not have been so intense.

## Employment Opportunities

The extent to which training fostered employment opportunities was difficult to assess. By design, this program is focussed on employment-threatened workers. From project files, little information was available to determine whether any participants had had their employment terminated through lack of satisfactory progress in their training. Conversely, it was difficult to gauge the degree to which the training had contributed to participants retaining their employment.

However, some measure of policy impact was gained through obtaining the impressions of RHQ personnel. They considered that the program could operate more effectively if more attention was paid to marketing and associated staff training. In their opinion the program is focussed more toward preventing unemployment than increasing productive efficiency. One RHQ staff member stated that

> the program should be doing more to help employers shift to more specialized or new activity so that they may compete more effectively with offshore products.

In this way, he argued, the program could go further toward preventing unemployment over the longer term.

## Equality of Participation

The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency are presented in Table 7.5.

Most trainees were males and aged between 25 and 44 years. The majority of participants (70%) had attained a grade 11 or 12 education level. Seventeeen percent had received some postsecondary education, the second highest education level category.

Wage rate comparisons between males and females indicated some noticeable differences. Approximately 73% of male participants received wages at $10 or over per hour.

Table 7.5

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 358) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male (N = 251) | Female (N = 107) | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| 20 - 24 | 39 | 17 | 56 |
| 25 - 44 | 180 | 75 | 255 |
| 45 + | 28 | 14 | 42 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 4 | 2 | 6 |
| 09 - 10 | 27 | 15 | 42 |
| 11 - 12 | 174 | 75 | 249 |
| Postsecondary | 46 | 15 | 61 |
| **Wage Rate ($ per hour)** | | | |
| < 7.50 | 30 | 34 | 64 |
| 7.50 - 9.99 | 37 | 38 | 75 |
| 10.00 - 12.49 | 60 | 21 | 81 |
| 12.50 - 15.00 | 39 | 7 | 46 |
| > 15.00 | 85 | 7 | 92 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 12 | 18 | 30 |
| Disabled | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Visible Minority | 4 | 0 | 4 |

Source: Project Files

Further, one in three males received greater than $15 per hour. On the other hand, 67% of female participants received less than $10 per hour.

A problem was experienced in promoting the participation of target group members. This problem was explained by the Regional Director General in a memorandum to the Deputy Minister, as follows:

> The program is aimed at an existing workforce which limits the setting of specific targets. Employers may or may not have target group members already in their employ.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Employer costs and CEIC contributions by selected types of expenditure are presented in Table 7.6.

Table 7.6

Type of Expenditure
by Employer Cost, CEIC Contribution, and % Reimbursement
in Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option

| Type of Expenditure | Employer Cost | CEIC Contribution | % Reimbursement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employee Wages | 1883804.30 | 655118.45 | 34.8 |
| Tuition Fees | | | |
| Public Institution | 91135.76 | 67138.12 | 73.7 |
| Private Trainer | 249227.32 | 163625.24 | 65.7 |

Source: Project Files

The rate of wage reimbursement reflects the proportion of training undertaken through on-the-job methods.

RHQ personnel expressed difficulty in estimating the extent of incrementality associated with on-the-job training. One staff member stated that "it's hard to estimate value for money with on-the-job training." A more direct reference to incrementality in on-the-job training was contained in the first quarterly report (1986/87) prepared by the Planning and Analysis Branch at RHQ. In this report, the personnel at the Edmonton South CEC claimed:

> CJS is not producing any significant results based on its intent. The employer community is seeking subsidies to remain in business and there is no real commitment to training staff.

Private trainers received approximately 2.7 times the amount paid to public institutions. The difference in expenditure was particularly evident in relation to electronic data processing training. Private trainers were paid $129210.76 compared with public institutions which received $20256.76. This training type was responsible for 52% of the funds attracted by private trainers.

In an attempt to control costs, the Manager of Employment Training Programs at RHQ introduced a restriction on contract duration, and a ceiling on reimbursable training costs associated with training in electronic data processing. These controls referred to _User Proficiency Training for Micro Electronic Conversion_.

"User Proficiency Training" was defined in the policy circular sent to CECs as

> training which will allow individuals to apply their generic skills (i.e. drafting, accounting, typing) to their job duties in a new/changed work environment.

The maximum contract duration was limited to 160 hours and maximum reimbursement was set at $1600 per trainee.

The reason for the controls was given in the policy circular:

> To assist CECs in negotiating contracts where the employer is purchasing training from the private sector (versus public institutions) where the fees are wide-ranging and sometimes appear to be exorbitant.

## Extended Training Leave Option: Policy Inputs and Processes

### Objective

The Extended Training Leave Option is designed to support the general objective of the Skill Investment Program by assisting employers "to permit individual employees to take leave from work to upgrade their skills or learn new skills (EA 28.02,2).

### The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

The development of proposals is initiated by employers contacting CECs, and by CEC personnel soliciting the program.

Authority to approve proposals is delegated by the Minister to CEC Managers or more senior staff at RHQ, depending on the value of the contract.

Skill Acquisition. The training in this program element is received entirely through off-the-job methods, and must

> consist of a minimum of 3 months to a maximum of 3 years for a full-time leave, and a minimum of 80 hours and a maximum of 3 years for a part-time leave (EA 28.20,3b).

Leave must "be for the purpose of training or retraining in occupational skills in demand by employers" (EA 28.20,3a). The responsibility for establishing the significance of demand lies with the employer.

These examples of employers' statements have been taken from training proposals in project files:

> Our company is presently in a position of multiple changes including high-tech advancement in the near future. We have recognized that due to a lack of

> English skills we have a communication dilemma. This causes countless problems in running a viable business. . . .
>
> In order to maintain and increase competitiveness, [the company] is preparing to institute state-of-the art disciplines into research and development. To accomplish this we require trained personnel.
>
> Shortage of trained persons in the electro-mechanical field necessitates this training program.

Examples of assessing officer's statements in recommending projects for approval are:

> Training will enhance workers' fundamental knowledge of the field they work in.
>
> English in the Workplace will improve employee performance and morale.

These written comments of employers and CEC personnel reflect an emphasis on the aim to increase productive efficiency.

Employment Opportunities. Another motive underlying the objective of this option is

> to assist persons whose employment is subject to change or elimination due to technology and market changes (EA 28.18,2).

This motive was explained in CJS promotional material, directed toward encouraging employer participation, as follows:

> Extended Training Leave could be an especially valuable tool if you wish to avoid layoffs during a period of labour market adjustment (CJS, WH3542:7).

The fostering of employment opportunities was viewed as a possible outcome by this employer in his training proposal. He wrote:

> If we are successful in our desire to improve their English skill levels, it is possible that advancement or promotion potential will exist. Without it employment would be threatened.

The focus on fostering employment opportunities was also evident in these comments by an Assessing Officer:

> Future training and job advancement possibilities exist for workers as a result of their participation.

Equality of Participation. To be eligible for CEIC assistance, the prospective trainee must be

> a person who is on the payroll of the employer party to the agreement . . . and whose occupation is subject to change or elimination, due to technological and market changes (EA 28.20,2).

The participation of target group members is encouraged in the same way as described for the Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option. RHQ personnel cited similar problems in promoting target group participation. They explained that this program element, also by design, involved participants who were already on the employer's payroll.

Equity of the Financial Burden. In order to meet the dual objectives of increasing productive efficiency and fostering employment opportunities, the role of CEIC is defined as "[assisting] employers . . . by subsidizing the necessary training and re-training of their employees" (EA 28.18,3).

If the criterion of incrementality is satisfied, then the levels of wage and training cost reimbursement are calculated.

> In relation to full-time leave:
>
> The employer and employee shall determine the wages paid to the employee during the leave. The CEIC contribution to an employer will be one half of the weekly gross salary paid to the employee while on leave. The maximum will be one-third of the employee's regular gross weekly salary . . . , or a specified amount of $350 per week, whichever is the lesser of the two (EA 28.21,1).

Part-time leave reimbursements are calculated on the same basis but use hourly gross salaries, with a specified maximum of $8.75 per hour (EA 28.21,2).

The employer is also reimbursed by CEIC for one half of the costs paid in tuition fees.

Trainee travel costs are not eligible for reimbursement "unless travel is required during the training as part of the course" (EA 28.21,5). However travel time may be eligible for wage reimbursement,

> if the employer grants the employee time off from work with pay for necessary travel to and/or from the place of training (EA 28.21,5).

The same possible levels of reimbursement for "Special Measures for the Disabled Persons" apply for this option as for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option.

## Project Monitoring

The reasons, frequency and procedures for monitoring projects in this program element were the same as those used in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option and the Skill Investment: Small Business Training Option. The accompanying procedure for the payment of claims was also the same.

## Extended Training Leave Option: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of training. From 4 September 1985 to 7 November 1986, six projects were approved, and 84 individuals participated in Skill Investment: Extended Training Leave. The types of training by the frequency of projects and CJS participants are presented in Table 7.7.

Table 7.7

Type of Training by
Frequency of Projects and CJS Participants
in Skill Investment: Extended Training Leave Option

| Type of Training | Project Frequency (N = 6) | Participant Frequency (N = 84) |
|---|---|---|
| English in the Workplace | 2 | 49 |
| Electrical Engineering | 3 | 27 |
| Safety, Maintenance, First Aid | 1 | 8 |

Source: Project Files

The occupations for which training was undertaken are presented in Table 7.8.

"English in the Workplace" had the highest participant frequency. This type of training was undertaken by individuals in "Product Fabricating, Assembling and Repairing" and "Service" occupational categories.

Table 7.8

Occupations for which Training was Undertaken
by Type of Training and Frequency of CJS Participants
in Skill Investment: Extended Training Leave Option

| Occupational Category | Type of Training[1] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| Product Fabricating, Assembling, Repairing | 33 | 26 | | 59 |
| Service | 16 | | | 16 |
| Mining and Quarrying including Oil and Gas | | | 8 | 8 |
| Natural Sciences, Engineering, Mathematics | | 1 | | 1 |
| Total | 49 | 27 | 8 | 84 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The key for the type of training: 1 = English in the Workplace; 2 = Electrical Engineering; 3 = Safety, Maintenance, First Aid.

From the training plans contained in project files I found that the "English in the Workplace" training was aimed toward increasing productive efficiency by improving customer service, and employee morale. However, the impact of this training was difficult to estimate from the information in those files. The impact of other types of training was similarly difficult to assess.

Type of trainer. Public institutions were the sole trainers in all 6 projects. RHQ personnel considered that public institutions were suited to giving instruction in this program element because the training was entirely conducted using an off-the-job format.

## Employment Opportunities

The impact of the training on the participants' employment opportunities was difficult to measure. Information from the monitoring reports in project files related to the employers' and trainees' impressions of the training quality rather than the extent to which that training prevented unemployment or fostered promotion opportunities.

## Equality of Participation

The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency are presented in Table 7.9.

Most participants (60%) were aged between 25 and 44 years. Approximately 58% of participants had not reached a grade 11 education level. Approximately one third (31%) were members of visible minorities.

The majority of documented participants (70%) received less than $10.00 per hour. The average wage rate for males was $8.20, while that for females was $4.97.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Employer wage costs during training totalled $68400.60, of which $28975.79 (or 42%) was reimbursed by CEIC. Employer training costs totalled $31445.00, of which $16960.50 (or 54%) was reimbursed by CEIC.

### Table 7.9

### Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Skill Investment: Extended Training Leave Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 84) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male<br>(N = 41) | Female<br>(N = 43) | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 20 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 - 24 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 25 - 44 | 25 | 31 | 56 |
| 45 + | 14 | 11 | 25 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 13 | 16 | 29 |
| 09 - 10 | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| 11 - 12 | 15 | 16 | 31 |
| Postsecondary | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| **Wage Rate ($ per hour)**[1] | | | |
| < 7.50 | 3 | 12 | 15 |
| 7.50 - 9.99 | 14 | 12 | 26 |
| 10.00 - 12.49 | 12 | 2 | 14 |
| 12.50 - 15.00 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| > 15.00 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Disabled | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Visible Minority | 11 | 15 | 26 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The wage rates for 8 males and 17 females were not documented.

RHQ personnel explained that the relatively small volume of activity in this option (when compared with the Small Business Training Option) was due to the condition of Alberta's economy. Since there was no on-the-job training component, employees were required to be away from the production site for a minimum of three months for a full-time leave and 80 hours for part-time leave. RHQ personnel contended that the cost in lost production was inhibiting employer participation. This contention was supported by the finding that four of the six projects were operated on a part-time leave basis. One senior officer at RHQ commented that

> In principle, there is nothing wrong with the program. The point is at this time, employers can't afford it.

However one company did view the prevailing conditions as an opportunity, as reflected in this written comment by an Assessing Officer:

> This is one of the companies that have taken advantage of CJS to upgrade their staff during a slow period in the oil industry in Alberta.

## Training Trust Fund Option: Policy Inputs and Processes

### Objective

The Training Trust Fund Option is designed to support the general objective of the Skill Investment Program by

> encourag[ing] employee associations singly or in conjunction with employers to establish trust funds for the purpose of providing financial assistance to train employee participants (EA 28.03,1).

Training Trust funds must

> be used to support skill development and upgrading to facilitate adjustment to technology and market change (EA 28.45,2a).

### The Role of the Board of Trustees

The Board of Trustees, consisting of employer and employee representatives has a responsibility for administering the fund. The Board is required to prepare training proposals, "arrange training for workers in skills in demand, and maintain suitable and adequate records of training programs" (EA 28.44,5).

RHQ personnel suggest that the Board of Trustees also has a "watchdog role". Through its composition it is designed to guard against the use of funds for purposes other than those concomitant with the general program objective. Further, one official at RHQ contended that "the manual [EIC Employment Manual, EA] stops short of mentioning that the Board of Trustees is essentially a bargaining unit." Several RHQ personnel mentioned these issues as possible sources of conflict: the types of skills for which training is to be undertaken, the numbers and types of trainees, the duration of the training period(s), and the relative financial contributions of the employer and employee groups.

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

RHQ personnel have the responsibility for delivering this program element. They are required to solicit, review and aid in the development of proposals, as well as prepare and sign agreements (EA 28.44,2).

Proposals are submitted directly to RHQ. If the proposal is successful, a "Regional Review and Recommendation" form is completed by RHQ personnel and sent to senior officials, including the Regional Director General for signature. Following signature by senior officials, and after the first year's training plan has been submitted, the contract is drawn up.

Skill Acquisition. Proposals are reviewed by RHQ personnel with respect to the technological and market changes, the occupations affected, the extent and timing of impact, and the schedule of training covering a 3-year period (EA, 28.47,2d). While the training schedule for the first year must be specific with regard to types of training and number of trainees, "the second and third years may be more general" (EA 28.47,2d).

These comments by RHQ personnel and developed through consultations with Trustees, were written on "Regional Review and Recommendation" forms in support of training proposals. They emphasize training as a means of increasing productive efficiency:

> Approval is recommended so that this Training Trust Fund may continue to provide high quality training. . . . Many of the individuals are employed by small contractors who require a skilled workforce in order to remain competitive.
>
> This training will ensure that employers will have a workforce which is more able to meet these [technological and market] challenges, and that they will remain more competitive.
>
> Electricians with skills over and above the basic apprenticeship training are in demand, and are more valuable to Canada's overall labour market.
>
> Labour market changes in a flat economy demand that employers and employees alike maintain a competitive edge and that trained workers are available when the upswing does take place.
>
> Training assists employers to remain competitive in a demanding market place. It refreshes skills made stagnant due to periods of unemployment in a slow economy.

Employment Opportunities. When applying for funding trustees must ensure that training priorities will be based on "the assessed impact of technological or market changes on workers' employment security" (EA 28.45,1).

These comments by RHQ personnel, written on "Regional Review and Recommendation" forms, relate to training as a means of fostering employment opportunities:

> This training will increase their employability on an immediate and longterm basis and will ensure that they are less vulnerable to labour market changes.
>
> Market changes have had a negative impact on the construction industry. With 60% of our members being unemployed it is imperative that they be given the opportunity to upgrade themselves to be re-absorbed into the labour market.
>
> Individuals who received their apprenticeship training in the past need to have their technical skills continually upgraded to meaningfully compete in the high tech environment.

> Economic Services [Branch at RHQ] endorses the proposal. They feel the market is depressed . . . , the workers should be trained and "skill ready" when the economic situation does turn around.

RHQ personnel explained that labour market forecasts, upon which the foregoing comments are based, are developed from information received from trustees and from Economic Services Branch at RHQ.

Equality of Participation. Two facets of this criterion are addressed by RHQ personnel, in considering funding proposals. The first relates to the composition of the board of trustees. This excerpt from a memorandum dated 28 July 1986 sent by the Acting Director of Skill Investment Branch at NHQ to RHQ described the CEIC position on eligibility:

> It is policy that, in addition to at least one-half of the trustees that must represent employees, at least two must represent employers.

The second facet concerns the determination of eligibility conditions for access to training activities. The board of trustees are expected to take a leading role in determining these conditions (CJS, WH3528:2). They are required to show how they intend to meet regional targets for the participation of women, natives, disabled persons and visible minorities set by RHQ personnel (EA 28.44,2a).

This approach, to be taken by one board of trustees, was drawn from the "Regional Review and Recommendation" form:

> The trustees plan to implement a self identification process for target group members [and] encourage them to come forward. . . .The trustees also plan to offer special upgrading courses for women in their membership.

If the regional targets do not appear possible in particular proposals, then RHQ personnel are to "develop and implement special measures to meet these targets" (EA 28.44,2a). This may involve seeking other applicants with higher proportions of target group membership, so to balance those projects with lesser numbers of such individuals.

On the other hand, an imbalance may be corrected with limited CEIC intervention. This would occur where proposals already showed significant levels of expected target group participation. For example, an RHQ staff member wrote on one review form:

> There are already a high number of natives and visible minority trainees. The courses offered. . . and the employment equity approaches adopted by employers will ensure that the *overall target for training trust funds* will be met.

Once the issues relating to the composition of the board of trustees and the participation of target groups have been satisfactorily addressed by the proponents, approval may be given by the Regional Director General.

*Equity of the Financial Burden*. Evidence of the application of the incrementality criterion appears in these comments of RHQ personnel written on "Regional Review and Recommendation" forms:

> The decrease in construction activity over the last 3 years has resulted in a decrease of contributions. Levels of training have been maintained by the use of reserve funds.
>
> In these last two years, employer contributions have dropped by 60%. Canada's contributions will add momentum and increase the number of trainees expected to be re-skilled.

One further aspect considered by RHQ personnel in assessing the level of financial support relates to the expected duration of CEIC assistance. This is described as follows:

> CEIC will contribute to trust funds for a specific period of time, with the expection that the fund will then continue to provide necessary training assistance without federal assistance (EA 28.41,2).

If the incrementality criterion is satisfied, and RHQ personnel consider that the fund will become self-supportive over the longer term, then the following levels of contribution are available:

> An amount equal to one-half of the total contribution to the fund during the first year, up to a maximum of $200,000, and 33 1/3 percent of the amount paid to the fund up to a maximum of $100,000, in each of the two subsequent years (CJS, WH3528:2).

## Payment of Claims

RHQ personnel explained that claims for payment are forwarded usually on a quarterly basis to RHQ. The claims are reviewed to ensure the following information is provided:

> a. number of employees contributing to the trust;
> b. the hourly contribution rate of employees and employers; and
> c. the total employee and employer contributions . . . (EA 28.52,2).

These claims do not necessarily include information relating to training activity.

### Project Monitoring

Monitoring by RHQ personnel must take place "at least annually and must be completed prior to the approval of subsequent year funding" (EA 28.50,3). In addition, the Board of Trustees must provide EIC with an annual report of training activity. As most contracts had been operating for less than one year at the time when I was searching project files, the number of monitoring reports available was limited.

## Training Trust Fund Option: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of training. From 4 September 1985 to 10 November 1986, eight Training Trust Fund contracts had been negotiated. The Board of Trustees in each case were employee associations. Information on the types of training which were to be undertaken was gathered from "Regional Review and Recommendation" forms. The types of training were expressed in terms of upgrading and reskilling in particular occupations.

A listing of the occupational categories associated with each fund is presented in Table 7.10. The volume of activity was small enough for each fund to be listed separately. Also the range of occupational categories was narrow.

One reason, cited by RHQ personnel, for the limited volume of activity was that little time had been available to market the program.

Table 7.10

Occupational Category by Trust Fund

| Occupational Category | Trust Fund 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Construction | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | |
| Machining | | 1 | 1 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 |
| Product Fabricating, Assembly, Repairing | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 1 |

Source: Project Files

Type of trainer. From details given on Regional Review and Recommendation forms, I found that in five of the eight Trust Funds individuals were to receive instruction from public institutions, private trainers and the employee association. In two Trust Funds, public institutions were to be the sole trainers. In one Trust Fund, instruction was to be entirely given by the employee association.

## Employment Opportunities

In a news release, concerning the signing of the first training trust fund contract, the Minister, the Hon. Flora MacDonald announced:

> This is the first program of its kind that allows employers and employees the opportunity to stay current with market and technological changes, through training before layoffs become a necessity.

However, this statement was difficult to corroborate since project files contained virtually no information regarding the impact of training on employment opportunities of participants.

## Equality of Participation

The expected frequency and percentage frequency of trainees in each designated target group for the first year of all agreements are presented in Table 7.11. Also shown are the regional targets for each designated group.

Table 7.11

Target Group by Frequency and Percentage Frequency of Participants and Regional Target Participation Level in Skill Investment: Training Trust Fund

| Target Group | Frequency (N = 3677) | % Frequency | Regional Target (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Women | 57 | 2 | 30 |
| Natives | 228 | 6 | 6 |
| Disabled Persons | 26 | 1 | 6 |
| Visible Minorities | 573 | 16 | 4 |

Source: Project Files

The percentage frequency of participants in three of the four target groups varied considerably from the regional target level. Only the expected participation rate for natives aligned with the regional target.

The large discrepancy between the expected number of female participants and the regional target was explained by RHQ personnel as a reflection of the occupational categories for which training was to be undertaken. They commented that the problem associated with promoting target group participation in this option was similar to that of the other two options of the Skill Investment Program.

From my analysis of project files, I found that all Training Trust Fund contracts were established as auxilliary agreements to pre-existing collective agreements, and that all contracts were signed with employee associations. RHQ personnel explained that since the membership characteristics of these associations had developed prior to the Training Trust Fund negotiations, there was little chance in most cases to seek out opportunities for target group participation.

Another facet of the criterion, encouraging equality of participation, related to the composition of the board of trustees. This facet was viewed by RHQ personnel, and identified in CJS policy documents, as having influenced the volume of activity in this program element.

At a meeting of Regional Managers in charge of the Skill Investment Program in August 1986, the delegate from Manitoba indicated:

> There was little interest in Training Trust Funds since employers tend to shy away from legal aspects and increased involvement by employees.

In response, a representative from NHQ asked if this view was shared by other regions. In the minutes of this meeting it was recorded:

> Several Regions responded that there were major problems, many of them centering on labour related concerns.

I discussed this issue with RHQ personnel. One suggested:

> Employers have difficulty in accepting that the board has control.

Another commented:

> The Boards must have at least one-half of the trustees representing employees and Alberta businessmen are often reluctant to encourage union involvement.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

The expected annual total contribution from employees and employers over the three year contract period were $1315200, $1464800 and $1693400. In the first year CEIC was to contribute $695800 (or 52% of the total employee and employer contributions), while in the second and third years CEIC was to contribute $475849 and $547432 (or 33% and 32% respectively, of the total employee and employer contributions in those years).

From project files I found that total contribution of employers and employees was usually between 5 cents per hour per contributing employee.

# Interpretations

## Historical Context

The Skill Investment Program is directly engaged with employment policies, through using recurrent education as a means of responding to the changing requirements of the labour force. This conception of recurrent education was described in reports by OECD (1973,1975). It also emphasizes the role that recurrent education has in coping with skill obsolescence, and in dealing with imbalances in the supply and demand of qualified manpower (Duke, 1982).

## Motives

The dual motives of increasing productive efficiency and preventing unemployment characterized each option of the Skill Investment Program. However, the options appeared to display varying emphases in relation to these motives. The Small Business Training Option seemed to focus more strongly upon increasing productive efficiency, through the emphasis on training associated with office automation. The Extended Training Leave Option and the Training Trust Funds appeared more directed toward the prevention of unemployment and encouraging the participation of disadvantaged groups. For example, language training in the Extended Training Leave Option was given to members of visible minorities, with the aim of maintaining employment. Occupational skill training was frequently proposed by Boards of Trustees as a means of increasing the employment potential of unemployed members, contributing to the fund.

Levin and Schutze (1983) contend that motives of increasing productivity and promoting equality of opportunity are likely to conflict, and that one is served at the expense of the other. This contention may be analysed through these findings from the Small Business Training Option. Electronic data processing training was mostly given to individuals in clerical occupations. Such individuals were commonly females, receiving less than $10.00 per hour.

These findings may be interpreted from two perspectives. First, Levin and Schutze (1983) and Rumberger and Levin (1984) contend that training in electronic data processing may be primarily aimed at an increase in office efficiency, rather than the promotion of equity. They argue that such training may merely aid the individual in maintaining a comparatively low skill, low mobility position. Alternatively, this training may be viewed as a means of promoting equity and efficiency simultaneously, by providing the individual with the skills required for further career development, while enabling clerical tasks to be accomplished more quickly.

Determining which of these contentions is more accurate would be a complex undertaking. It would involve both an analysis of the subsequent career paths of these women, and an assessment of the extent to which such training influenced those career paths.

## Obstacles to Participation

The major obstacle to participation would seem to relate to Timmermann's (1983) suggestion that some jobs have greater recurrent education "value" or "closeness". From the findings for this option, clerical occupations would be considered as having this characteristic.

Remaining obstacles, cited by Timmermann, such as the organization of work and the nature of the activities would appear to present few problems. The majority of training was given using on-the-job methods (72.3% of the total training time), and was therefore closely linked to work schedules and less subject to admission requirements.

Jackson and Weatherby (1975) proposed that the forms and amounts of financial contribution may act as obstacles to participation. From the volume of activity evident in the Small Business Training Option, it appears that these obstacles did not deter employers from participating. However, the level of financial burden for employers was suggested by RHQ personnel as responsible for the small volume of activity in the Extended Training Leave Option. Employers were perceived as reluctant to allow employees to undertake off-site training for extended periods, while still being required to half of those employees' salaries. Further, the production associated with on-site training, was not available in the Extended Training Leave Option.

## Equity Principles

The Skill Investment Program includes aspects of horizontal and vertical equity.

The focus on vertical equity is evident in the motive to prevent unemployment of those individuals threatened by the impact of technological or market changes. However, this focus does not extend to solely addressing the needs of those with more severe forms of disadvantage. For example, no proposals were rejected through the lack of target group participation. From this perspective, some degree of horizontal equity is evidenced since individuals who are not members of target groups may be considered to have an equal chance of participating.

Vertical equity is evidenced in the type of training, and the participant characteristics in the Extended Training Leave Option. This seems to have been brought about by consultation between CEC personnel and employers, rather than by policy mandates. Similarly, the aspects of vertical equity apparent in the Training Trust Funds would appear to be a consequence of earlier undertakings by boards of trustees rather than by policy requirements. This is because all boards were employee associations, and each fund was established as an auxillary to a pre-existing collective agreement.

## Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

### Training quality and diversity.

The monitoring of training quality over a variety of training types in the Small Business Training Option was found to place demands on CEC personnel. This finding relates to a recurrent education policy tension proposed by Schuller (1978).

Schuller suggests that the tension exists between the need for fresh initiatives to overcome the labour market problems and the dangers of allowing unbridled entrepreneuralism. Using Smith's (1973) model, this may be interpreted as a tension between the implementing organization (EIC) and the idealized policy (CJS) as it is designed to serve the target group (participants). Influencing these interactions would be environmental factors (expectations of employers and trainers). One transaction emerging from this tension may be the crystallization of the interaction patterns into an institution. A measure of the degree of institutionalization is proposed by Smith (1973) to be the institution's ability to survive in its environment.

Applying these conceptions to issues of training quality and diversity, CEC personnel may be viewed as exercising a standard approach to monitoring developed from their interpretation of the policy and their knowledge and experience in dealing with employers, trainers and participants. As a consequence, a regular pattern of interaction may occur where only the most extraordinary occurrences bypass the institution phase, to be fed back directly as ongoing tensions or to the policy making process to bring about policy changes.

While an institution allows policy implementation to proceed more smoothly, it does not enable a clear identification of whether projects are overcoming labour market problems.

Responses of postsecondary educators and business representatives. An ongoing source of tension was the training delivery mechanism in the Small Business Training Option, particularly the use of non-provincially approved trainers and the implications for institutional change. These issues drew mixed response from postsecondary educators and business representatives. Some postsecondary educators appeared committed to the need to adapt their services to suit employers' requirements. Others criticized the certification problems associated with the use of private trainers, and cited the difficulties inherent in cooperative programming with employers. Business representatives also presented a varied response. Some were critical, while others were complimentary of the extent to which public institutions responded to their needs.

The dilemma for the implementing organization (EIC) is whether to pursue an overall commitment to implementation of CJS, which may be an unrealistic pursuit, or to adopt a more piecemeal approach relying more upon individual initiatives. This type of dilemma was posed by Schuller (1978). He suggested that a piecemeal approach may lead to more rapid progress but warned that the critical question is how far the need for coordination is seen as extending. Adapting Schuller's ideas to CJS, too little coordination may leave EIC open to criticism regarding lack of coherence and unbridled entrepreneuralism, while too much coordination may result in bureaucratic overkill, and the subsequent stifling of initiative.

## Models of Politics

Resource dependency.—This model, as described by Weeres (1984), depicts politics as a function of the dependency of individuals or groups on external resources. This model may be used to interpret the response of the public institutions which became more heavily involved with the Small Business

Training Option.

The job security of the staff at these institutions was closely associated with their ability to attract funds. Consequently these staff designed organizational structures to be responsive to external needs and opportunities.

Competitive isomorphism. Weeres (1984) describes isomorphism as a constraining process that makes organizations operating in the same environments similar in structure and function. He views competitive isomorphism as resulting from organizational executives learning to optimize their organization to compete in these environments. This model may be applied to interpret the actions of the private training organizations which provided instruction in electronic data processing. Commonly these organizations were closely associated with the sale of the computer hardware and software, and provided instruction on that equipment as it was being introduced to the work setting. This arrangement largely precluded opportunities for other trainers, particularly public institutions.

By operating in this manner, the private trainers were acting politically in the sense that their actions resulted in the receipt of the values which they sought.

A contrasting form of isomorphism was experienced by the provincially administered institutions. The requirement to ensure full cost recovery and to charge negotiated per diem prices was felt to inhibit the ability of these institutions to compete effectively.

### Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Functionalism. Mitchell's (1985) functionalist conception of government action may be applied to the Small Business Training Option. Employers were encouraged to cooperate with the government in the development of ways to overcome problems related to technological or market changes. For example, employers worked with CEC personnel in the identification of training needs and in the development of proposals. However, the government exercised direct control through project approval and monitoring processes.

Consistent with the functionalist perspective, scarcity of resources was not generally apparent. One exception was the imposition of limits on the levels of reimbursement for User Proficiency Training for Micro Electronic Conversion. The imposition of these limits may be interpreted as a change in government action from a functionalist to an exchange theory perspective.

Exchange theory. The limited volume of activity in the Extended Training Leave may be interpreted using exchange theory. Scarcity from the government's perspective may be presumed from the level of reimbursement which it was prepared to provide. Scarcity from the employer's perspective was evident from the level of contribution which they were prepared to make. One may argue from the limited employer response that government action in this option was an ineffective form of exchange theory. There was no conflict or competition among employers for resources. Employers were thought reluctant to become involved since participation was not considered to yield a sufficient return for their investment.

Interactionism. Mitchell (1985) explains that the interactionist perspective assumes governments act as service agencies which indirectly encourage cooperative action by private citizens. Policy is viewed to have its effect by controlling how people define problems.

The Training Trust Fund Option may be considered as the CJS program element most closely related to this form of government action. Although the government in exercising approval authority may be perceived as acting directly, boards of trustees have a prominent role in designing training plans and coordinating financial arrangements. Monitoring is performed less frequently than in other CJS program elements because the boards of trustees through employer and employee representatives are presumed capable of allocating funds in a manner consistent with the program objectives. RHQ personnel used the terms, "watchdog" and "bargaining unit" in describing the nature of these boards.

Some elements of the boards' design were thought to inhibit the involvement of employers. These elements were the majority of representation of employees, and the board's authority to control funds. EIC personnel contended that employers perceived such boards as weighted more toward the needs of employees.

The limited employers' response to the Training Trust Fund Option would seem to suggest that the government, in assuming an interactionist position, failed to adequately consider the interests of employers.

## CHAPTER 8

## Job Entry

The objective of the Job Entry Program is to "assist youth and women who are having difficulty making the transition from school or home to the labour market" (CJS, WH3525:4). Two options of this program were monitored. These were:

> Entry, which is designed for unemployed youth who have been out of school for at least three months and who have not graduated from a postsecondary institution; and
>
> Re-Entry, which is designed to assist women who have been out of the labour force for at least three years and who have been primarily engaged in homemaking activities (CJS, WH3525:4).

### Policy Inputs and Processes

#### Program Design

The implementation of this program is said to be "dependent upon the increasing willingness of economic partners to actively take part in the provision of training opportunities" (EA 27.01,1). The "economic partners" referred to in this statement are CEIC, coordinators who develop and manage projects, trainers who provide off-site (classroom) training, and training place hosts who provide on-site training and work experience.

The role of the coordinator. Coordinators contract with CEIC, receiving financial compensation to develop and manage

Job Entry projects. They are required to

> recruit, select and place participants. . . ; arrange for the provision of off-site elements; monitor the progress of participants and complete monthly reports for the Regional Job Entry Director; and cooperate with the training place hosts and trainers in a regular assessment of participants. . . . (EA 27.08,4).

Coordinators may include "individuals, businesses, labour organizations, educational institutions, community groups and all levels of government" (CJS, WH3508:8).

*The role of the trainer*. A trainer is "an institution, association, employer or individual who has agreed to provide the off-site portion of the Entry or Re-entry project" (EA 27.05,4). Coordinators are eligible to act as trainers.

Training in basic skills, as well as general and specific occupational skills is provided in the off-site portion of each project.

Basic skills are described as

> common to the working world- content may include work-life skills, orientation to the labour market, health and safety training, and care skills such as communications, problem-solving, computer literacy and job search techniques;

whereas general and specific occupational skills are defined as "related to the occupation or industry of training place hosts" (CJS, WH3509:7).

*The role of the training place host*. Training place hosts enter into an agreement with coordinators to provide worksite (on-site) training and experience. They are to

> provide the coordinator with an outline of the knowledge and skills required by participants prior to their placement, and with an outline of the

> training to be offered and the opportunities that participants will have to apply these skills; provide participants with on-going supervision and support; [and] provide an assessment of each participant's ability to perform assigned tasks (CJS, WH3525:6).

The role of EIC personnel. Staff at RHQ and in the CJS Units in metropolitan CEC offices (Edmonton and Calgary) are responsible for program delivery, within the general policy framework developed at NHQ (EA 27.08).

Major areas of responsibility include "the identification of potential coordinators and solicitation of proposals from them" (EA 27.08,2e); the subsequent process of development and evaluation of those proposals; and project monitoring and payment of claims.

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

Process synopsis. The following description was compiled using information from CJS policy documents and interviews with RHQ and CJS Unit personnel.

The proposal development process is initiated by a meeting of the potential managing coordinator and a project officer. At this meeting the project officer explains the details of the program and gives information on current priorities and funding availability. The one project officer would, ideally, continue working with the potential coordinator throughout the proposal development phase.

The next step is the submission of a Job Entry Profile which is prepared by the potential coordinator, and which outlines main features of the proposed project. The project officer presents this profile at a prereview meeting at which the CJS Unit Manager and other project officers are present. A representative from the provincial government may also be invited to give information on any previous involvement of the applicant in provincial programming, or if the proposed project is seen to overlap with provincial programming.

Following this meeting the potential coordinator is informed of any concerns and suggested changes. When the project officer and the CJS Unit Manager consider that these concerns have been suitably addressed, the proposal is sent on to the Regional Review Board.

Regional Review Board meetings are held at RHQ. Usually between five and seven individuals comprise the board. These include the Regional Chief of the Job Entry Program, the CJS Unit Manager who chairs the meeting, and the project officer who is responsible for presenting the proposal. The remaining positions are taken by RHQ personnel such as institutional and/or industrial training consultants, designated group consultants who are responsible for promoting participation of CJS target groups, and Job Entry Program consultants. If a proposal requires the assistance of a CEC in the recruiting of participants, or is deemed to have a significant impact on the labour market in a particular CEC area, then the Manager of that CEC or his/her delegate is invited to the Board.

At the meeting, the potential coordinator is given the opportunity to present the proposal. Following this presentation, the potential coordinator is excused and the Board discusses and evaluates the proposal. The potential coordinator is informed of the Board's decision by letter.

If the Review Board recommends approval, a copy of the minutes of the Review Board meeting is sent to the Regional Manager of the Job Entry Program. The Regional Manager usually concurs with the Review Board's decision and signs the form entitled "Recommendation for Ministerial Decision". This form together with a summary of the proposal and the minutes of the Review Board meeting are then sent to the Minister by facsimile transmission.

RHQ is informed of the Minister's decision usually after 7 - 10 days. RHQ personnel suggested that some of the delay in turnaround time was probably due to the Minister wishing to inform local Members of Parliament of proposed projects in their constituencies. The local Member of Parliament is always given the opportunity to announce project approvals.

Once approval has been given and the coordinator has been informed, the project is contracted.

Skill Acquisition. Coordinators are responsible for developing plans in which on-site elements and off-site elements are integrated. This means that the basic skills and the general and specific occupational skills, in which the participants receive classroom instruction, should be appropriate, applied and developed in the worksetting.

Criteria for the selection of coordinators include:

> the ability to develop and deliver all elements of the training plan or to contract for the development or delivery of certain elements;
>
> the ability to monitor the participants' progress;
>
> [and for the Re-Entry Option] potential coordinators must be knowledgeable or experienced in the development and delivery of programs for women, or must collaborate with individuals or associations which have this expertise (EA,27.06:2b).

At the beginning of the 1986/87 fiscal year, a further factor was introduced with respect to the selection of coordinators. This factor was a consequence of the Minister's assurance to the provincial ministers that the 10% cut in direct purchase spending would be compensated by the funds received through the purchase of public institutional training by third parties. She referred to this funding mechanism as "indirect purchase", and undertook that the federal government would redress any shortfall.

This factor was complicated by the shift in anticipated 1985/86 CJS expenditures into the 1986/87 fiscal year, created by a moratorium on advance payments to projects. This moratorium meant that projects operating prior to the start of the 1986/87 year would consume a greater amount of that year's budget than had been expected. This had the effect of reducing funding levels for new activity.

In a memorandum to the Acting Executive Director of CJS, the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development explained that

> the reduction increases considerably the difficulty in generating the suggested $5,213,000 in indirect purchases. . . .I am afraid that without instituting administrative measures such as requiring coordinators to purchase training from provincial

> institutions as a condition of their contracts, we will not be able to meet the 10% commitment.

I was informed by RHQ personnel in charge of the Job Entry Program that it would have been possible to meet the 10% commitment, had 90% of the training costs been incurred through instruction in public institutions.

Measures were subsequently taken to increase the level of public institutional training. On June 5 1986, the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development wrote to coordinators wishing to recontract for another cycle of training. She explained the EIC position as follows:

> One of our priorities is to increase the amount of training purchased from public institutions. The impact on the Job Entry program is that public training institutions functioning as coordinators, and non-public institution coordinators who are willing to purchase all, or almost all, of their off-site training from public institutions will receive priority in funding.

The criteria used in selecting coordinators are evidenced in the following examples of correspondence. These examples have been taken from summaries of prereview meetings:

> The training proposal seems reasonable with the following suggestions: 1. life skills could be reduced from 5 weeks to 2 weeks. . . .The off-site weeks eliminated could be used for additional on-site training.
>
> The training program has inadequacies. Of the 9 weeks of inclass training, only 2 are identified as being directly oriented to sales training.
>
> There seems to be a lack of support opportunities for the trainees throughout the on-site training.
>
> The Life Skills portion of the off-site training was not broken down into modules reflecting the needs of the participants and the curriculum vitae of the training was also not provided.

> Life skills program does not address transitional problems of women re-entering the workforce. There should be at least one female role model involved in training.
>
> Will participants be trained suitable to write the Level 1 exam or is the program 'watered down'. . . ?
>
> Objectives generally are vague and methods of measurement subjective.
>
> There was not much information given re the 'business' content - what kind of computer skills, what 'office practices'? Upon what is provided, I do not see these participants emerging as computer programmers, nor administrative assistants, nor office managers. I see data entry clerks.
>
> Concern was expressed over the institutional training requirement. [The coordinator] likely will not receive funding for new programs although their track record to date is very good.

Regional Review Board Meetings are scheduled once any concerns, which emerged during the prereview, have been satisfactorily addressed. The following examples have been taken from letters by project officers to potential coordinators following Regional Review Board meetings:

> Unfortunately the Board was not able to approve your proposal as presented. The members felt the information was ~~insufficient~~ in the following areas: 1. justification for the number of weeks of classroom training . . . [and] 2. elaboration of how the transitional problems will be addressed through the life and work skills training. . . . The Board encourages you to continue to develop the proposal.
>
> The Review Board approved the proposal with the following recommendations and conditions: 1. that ESL training be provided up-front. . . ; 2. that the program be 47 weeks. . . ; 3. that on-site generic training plans be provided for each occupation. . . ; 4. that training start by February 10, 1986.

> Our office has reviewed and assessed your proposal. We have found it to be more than acceptable, in terms of quality course content.

The range of Regional Review Board responses is evidenced in the above examples. In the first two cases further proposal development was required, while in the last case the proposal was recommended for approval without any suggested changes.

Employment Opportunities. The Job Entry Program is designed to foster employment opportunities "by integrating practical work experience and skills training" (CJS, WH3508:5). This combination is viewed as providing participants "with the tools to successfully make the transition to the world of work" (CJS, WH3508:5).

A major factor considered in the evaluation of proposals was stated by the Regional Chief of the Job Entry Program to be "the probability of placement in a job once the project is completed." Consequently, proposals must contain information about the potential for ongoing employment. Estimates by coordinators must take into account that "training place hosts are under no obligation to hire participants" (CJS, WH3525:5).

These comments, taken from summaries of prereview meetings, refer to the extent to which individual projects may foster employment opportunities:

> The coordinator indicates that 85% of participants will be hired on successful completion of program.
>
> Presently there are 24 UI claimants in the Metro Edmonton Area. This is not significant considering opportunities. NAIT indicated that all of their

> graduates were placed last year. With proper credentials, jobs are available.
>
> The coordinator has a commitment from [the training place host] to assist in placing those who successfully complete the course.

However some proposals which were later approved, received somewhat negative assessments:

> Work opportunities are not year round. There is a relatively high incidence of UI recipients in this industry.
>
> Prospects for employment are bleak as there exists a large surplus of qualified personnel.
>
> [I have] some concerns regarding the number of accounting-microcomputing proposals. How many people can the local labour market absorb?
>
> Due to the limited nature of the Red Deer labour market, it was felt that the participants would have a difficult time competing for jobs.
>
> Job availability is low. Employment prospects will be contingent upon employment guarantees from the training place hosts . . .

_Equality of Participation_. Coordinators are required to ensure that their proposals satisfy participant eligibility criteria.

To be eligible for the Entry Option, individuals must be

> unemployed or working part-time not more than 20 hours per week, and must have attained the legal school-leaving age. They must have been out of the regular school system for at least 3 months, and must not be in receipt of a postsecondary degree or diploma.

Further,

> As the intent of the program is to assist those most in need, youths who have not completed their secondary education will receive priority (CJS, WH3520:3).

Individuals, who meet these criteria, must also be classified as not having made a successful transition to the labour market. RHQ personnel indicated that youth who had a succession of short-term jobs, often between lengthening periods of unemployment, were usually considered as not having made a successful transition.

CJS policy documents refer to the matter of determining a successful transition as follows:

> Any youth who has worket full-time for 26 or more consecutive weeks during the previous 52 weeks will not normally be eligible to participate (CJS, WH3520:3).

However the EIC Employment Manual (EA 27.06,2) read:

> some latitude will be provided in the selection. . . . The overriding criteria for invoking the latitude is an individual's need for assistance.

The eligibility criterion for participation in the Re-entry Option is that individuals be entering or re-entering the labour force after having been engaged primarily in home making activities for at least the previous three years.

The Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development explained that there was a problem with this criterion. She felt that it may allow the participation of women who are capable of re-entering the workforce without assistance. She commented:

> To bring the criterion into line with CJS philosophy, "helping those most in need", the Alberta region has introduced a quota that 50% of the women be social assistance recipients.

Proposals must also include

> a policy statement regarding the coordinator's commitment to the principles of employment equity.

Further,

> The coordinator is to provide an outline of plans to recruit, select and provide developmental opportunities for a specified number of women, disabled persons and visible minorities in line with the proportional representation in the local labour market (CJS, WH3525:10).

These comments, taken from summaries of prereview meetings, describe the reactions of CJS Unit personnel in relation to how individual proposals addressed the criterion, "encouraging equality of participation":

> The proposal was rejected. [The coordinator] has been asked to resubmit the proposal, ensuring that the employment equity statement includes a native and disabled persons target.
>
> The mixture of target group members causes some concern - having physically handicapped, youth, and former inmates together could cause some problems.
>
> There is a definite need amoung the unskilled immigrants and refugees for a program that will assist them in skill building and personal development. The program would assist participation in reducing their anxiety, and increase their social and behavioural skills.

In relation to the longer term aspects of encouraging equality of participation, the Regional Chief of the Job Entry indicated that a further important consideration in evaluating proposals was the rate of pay related to the occupations for which training was proposed. An acceptable rate for participants completing Entry Option projects was $5.00 - $7.00 per hour, and for participants completing Re-entry Option projects, $7.00 - $10.00 per hour.

Equity of the Financial Burden. Since coordinators contract with CEIC and receive payment for developing and managing projects, the principle of incrementality is not addressed during the evaluation of proposals.

## Contribution Schedule for Coordinators

Following project approval, the coordinator is entitled to apply for a variety of CEIC contributions. These are as follows:

> Contributions to a maximum of $10,000 may be made toward the actual costs of developing the organizational capacity necessary to act as a coordinator (EA 27.11,2).

Further,

> Coordinators will be paid up to $350 per position for developing a project. They will also receive an additional $100 per position each fiscal quarter of the project to a maximum of $400 for implementing and monitoring the project.

Also,

> Coordinators will be reimbursed for the costs of off-site training to a daily maximum of $40 and an overall maximum of $2,600 per position for off-site training costs. They will also be reimbursed up to $250 per participant for costs incurred in providing health, safety or other occupational requirements associated with participation (CJS, WH3510:8).

In addition, the coordinator may receive extra contributions for off-site training, as follows:

> When requested by a coordinator and deemed required by CEIC, enhancement contributions may be made to a coordinator who requires additional funding to accommodate the particular needs of one or more participants (EA 27.11,6).

## Participant Income Support

The eligibility criteria, types, amounts and associated procedures for payment of income support to Job Entry participants are the same as those described for the Direct Purchase Option (see Chapter 5).

Project Monitoring

Information on the monitoring process was gathered from project files, and interviews with RHQ personnel and project officers. Monitoring visits are usually undertaken by project officers from a CJS Unit. The frequency and timing of these visits is determined by the submission of claims by coordinators.

During each visit the project officer checks a sampling of financial records against receipts, and the budget forecasts on the contribution agreement. In addition, the project officer is required to review the progress of individual participants and ensure their participation is consistent with the approved plan. This review is accomplished by interviewing the coordinators, the participants and the training place hosts, and where possible, by attending training sessions.

Once the claim is verified by the project officer, it is sent to RHQ, signed by the Regional Manager or the Regional Chief of the Job Entry Program, and forwarded to the Finance Branch. Personnel in the Finance Branch also check the claim against contribution agreement figures. A copy of the claim is sent to Supply and Services Canada where it serves as a requisition for payment. Personnel in this department prepare the cheque and mail it to the coordinator.

## Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of coordinator and occupational category. From 4 September 1985 to 16 October 1986, 31 Entry Option projects and 23 Re-Entry Option projects had been contracted. The number of Entry and Re-Entry Option projects associated with each type of coordinator, and occupational category to which training was directed, are presented in Table 8.1.

Private consultants coordinated 16 of the 31 (52%) Entry Option projects. Training in skills associated with clerical, service, and sales occupations took place more commonly than training associated with other occupational categories.

Private consultants coordinated 15 of the 23 (65%) Re-Entry Option projects. Training in skills associated with clerical occupations took place in 12 projects (52%) and that associated with sales occupations occurred in 6 projects (26%). Therefore training in the Re-Entry Option was designed most frequently for women to re-enter the labour force through positions in office work and retail sales.

## Table 8.1

### Occupational Category by Type of Coordinator and Project Frequency in Job Entry: Entry Option (E) and Re-Entry Option (RE)

| Occupational Category | Type of Coordinator | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Private Consultant | | Public Institution | | Non-Profit Organization | |
| | E | RE | E | RE | E | RE |
| Clerical | 4 | 8 | 4 | | 2 | |
| Service | 3 | 1 | 3 | | 2 | |
| Sales | 4 | 1 | | 1 | 4 | |
| Clerical and Sales | | 3 | | 1 | | |
| Product Fabricating, Assembling, Repairing | 2 | | | | | 1 |
| Construction | | | 1 | | | |
| Farming, Horticultural Animal Husbandry | | 1 | 1 | | | |
| Artistic, Literary, Performing Arts | 1 | | | | | |
| Mining, including Oil and Gas | 1 | | | | | |
| Medicine and Health | | | | | | 1 |
| Social Sciences | | | | 1 | | |
| Varied[1] | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Total | 16 | 15 | 9 | 5 | 6 | 3 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The category "Varied" refers to projects in which participants received training in more than 2 occupational categories.

Method of training. The average number of weeks spent in on-site and off-site training, and the average number of trainees per project for projects in the Entry and Re-Entry Options, are detailed in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2

Average Number of Participants and Average Number of Weeks Spent in Off-Site and On-Site Training by Job Entry Program Option

| Option | Average Number of Participants | Average Weeks Off-Site | Average Weeks On-Site |
|---|---|---|---|
| Entry (N = 31) | 28.0 | 12.5 | 25.0 |
| Re-Entry (N = 23) | 25.7 | 16.0 | 23.7 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Report on Active Agreements, Search Date 31 October 1986.

Type of off-site trainer. The number of Entry Option and Re-Entry Option projects in which each type of trainer was used for instruction in basic skills and occupation-specific skills is detailed in Table 8.3.

A general feature evident in comparing the information presented in Tables 8.1 and 8.3 is the role of the coordinator as a trainer. From the details relating to the Entry Option in Tables 8.3 and 8.1, one finds that all private consultant coordinators acted as off-site trainers in basic skills, and the majority (11 out of 16) also gave instruction in occupation-specific skills. Three private consultant coordinators used public institutions and the remaining two private consultant coordinators used private trainers for instruction in occupation-specific skills.

Five of the six non-profit organization coordinators acted as off-site trainers in both basic and occupational-specific skills. The remaining coordinator used a private trainer for instruction in basic skills, and a public institution for instruction in occupation-specific skills.

Table 8.3

Type of Off-Site Trainer
by Type of Skill and Project Frequency
in Job Entry: Entry Option (E) and Re-Entry Option (RE)

| Type of Skill | Type of Off-Site Trainer[1] | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1 | | 2 | | 3 | | 4 | | 5 | |
| | E | RE | E | RE | E | RE | E | RE | E | RE |
| Basic | 16 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| Occupation Specific | 11 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 7 |
| Total | 27 | 22 | 16 | 9 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 8 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The key for the type of off-site trainer: 1 = Private Consultant Coordinator; 2 = Public Institution Coordinator; 3 = Non-Profit Organization Coordinator; 4 = Private Trainer; 5 = Public Institution.

The type of off-site trainer recorded for each project was the one which gave the majority of instruction in the particular type of skill.

All public institution coordinators acted as off-site trainers in occupation-specific skills and seven of the nine coordinators also gave instruction in basic skills. The remaining two coordinators used private trainers.

Twelve of the 15 private consultant coordinators of Re-Entry Option projects gave instruction in basic skills, while two coordinators used private trainers and the remaining coordinator used a public institution. Ten of the 15 private consultant coordinators gave instruction in occupation-specific skills. The remaining five coordinators used public institutions. With the exception of one public institution which used a private trainer, all others used their own training facilities for instruction in basic skills.

One of the three non-profit organization coordinators gave instruction in occupation-specific skills. Two coordinators used public institutions. All non-profit organization coordinators gave instruction in basic skills.

Enhancement training. Occasionally supplementary training was required by some or all of the participants in a particular project. This was training which had not been included on the original training plan.

The number of projects in which particular types of enhancement training took place in the Entry and Re-Entry Options is presented in Table 8.4.

From further analysis of project files, it was found that most of the enhancement training was given by private trainers and private consultant coordinators. Public institutions were used on 17 of the 73 occasions. Public institution involvement was primarily in academic upgrading, typing training, and computer training.

Table 8.4

Type of Enhancement Training by Project Frequency in Job Entry: Entry and Re-Entry Options

| Type of Enhancement Training[1] | Entry[2] | Re-Entry[3] | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Academic Upgrading | 8 | 3 | 11 |
| Typing | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Counselling | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Driver Training | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Life Skills | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Computer Training | 2 | 4 | 6 |
| Language Training (ESL) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Other | 14 | 4 | 18 |
| Total | 45 | 28 | 73 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The category "Other" refers to types of enhancement training which took place in 1 or 2 Job Entry projects only.

[2] Eleven of the 14 Entry Option projects included more than 1 type enhancement training.

[3] Eight of the 11 Re-Entry Option projects included more than 1 type of enhancement training.

The rationale for enhancement training is illustrated by these examples taken from project files:

> Due in part to our review of the participants and to to the concerns expressed to us during the monitoring

> of the Training Place Hosts, we feel that it would be in the best interests of all the participants to include a Typing Enhancement Module (Coordinator).
>
> I feel there is a need for recreational actitivities to improve the use of spare time. This has been done in other Job Entry projects in Edmonton. I support activities which can be maintained by participants once they end the program (Project officer).

The latter statement was made in support of an application for enhancement funding for swimming, aerobics, tennis and painting instruction. The application was approved.

Approval for enhancement funding can be given by RHQ personnel. The following example is a case where approval was not given:

> It was not felt that Math 30 was required for [the trainee] in order for her to benefit from the program. Rather, it was meant to enable her to obtain a high-school diploma (Project officer's reply to coordinator's request).
>
> Because [your office] has not allocated a sufficient amount of time to thoroughly review our program, you may be unaware of how we meet the individual training needs of each participant. Without even meeting the students or reading their files, [your office] has decided that the $69- for the Math 30 course wouldn't meet the project goals. . . .Wouldn't this course have helped the individual to more self-confidence, or start her own business? (Coordinator's reply)

_The role of the project officer_. Some aspects of the project officer's role are illustrated by the following examples taken from monitoring reports in project files:

> It is my feeling that for participants as needy as these that the life-skills coach would need more time with participants early in the program.
>
> Off-site trainers were well qualified. On-the-job training also appeared to be of high quality, with the exception of a couple of rigs where participants had to be transferred due to lack of supervision.

> Although [the coordinator] was requested to accept students with minimal typing skills, the plan has not since been revamped to help trainees attain the minimum level. I am surprised that the Coordinator is delaying decision as certainly the typing ability will impact on the eventual success rate of placements in the program.
>
> Participants have very high expectations which are not being met during on-site assignments. The training plan emphasizes word processing, but in fact trainees are being confined initially to basic tasks such as filing, typing and photocopying. The result is that a number of trainees are expressing dissatisfaction.
>
> During my on-site visits I found that the participants had never received formal evaluation from either the coordinator or the training place hosts. Training Place Hosts did not have a copy of the training plan and the program had not been explained to them.
>
> I said [to the coodinator] that since only 2 of the original staff are still in the program, we had a responsibility to review new staff members. [The coordinator] became quite agitated, and said this was meddling in his staff. He said "You leave methods to me and judge us on our product."

In searching project files I found that ongoing problems had occurred in five of the 54 Job Entry projects. I considered projects with ongoing problems to be those in which as persistent pattern of problem-related correspondence was evident.

The above examples have mostly been taken from these projects. Project officers, as well as staff at RHQ who had been project officers, indicated that the projects with ongoing problems consumed a disproportionate amount of time, but required careful attention as they were the ones most likely to attract publicity.

I observed through examining the correspondence in the project files, that a common method used by EIC personnel to deal with ongoing problems was to remind coordinators of their contractual obligations. Prolonged noncompliance with these obligations could lead to a project being placed on probation, or ultimately to contract termination. However, I found that no projects had problems which had reached these degrees of severity.

Responses of postsecondary educators, provincial government personnel and others. The type of trainer and the associated nature of training in the Job Entry projects drew strong responses from postsecondary educators, provincial government personnel, and other interest groups.

A report in the Globe and Mail of 12 June 1986 read:

> Employment Minister Flora MacDonald is facing a storm of complaints about the program. The Tory strategy of turning the execution of Government programs over to the private sector is seriously misplaced in the field of employment training, says [a spokesman for non-profit organizations]. She said there is not the system of accreditation and monitoring under private ventures that colleges and the experienced non-profit organizations have.

A similar viewpoint was expressed by some postsecondary educators during interviews. For example, one commented:

> Private sector training quality is variable. Where is the quality control? What about certification? I am concerned that there is a move toward relative amateurs. I am also wary of the ability of project officers . . . from the ones I've seen, they all seem to be 26 year old sociologists. Where in CEIC is the expertise?

The assumed quality of training provided by the private sector was cited by some provincial officials and postsecondary educators as a reason for the limited involvement of public institutions, for example:

> Some [public] institutions felt that Job Entry programs didn't provide substantive training, and therefore have shown reluctance to have their names associated with such projects (provincial official).

> At [our public institution], we pride ourselves on giving leadership to the system. Private sector coordinators have strictly a profit motive, whereas we don't. These coordinators have no commitment. . . .We get a lot of calls from coordinators. We would only enter into an agreement if they were considered reputable (postsecondary educator).

A further concern was expressed by provincial officials during interviews. This concern related to the provincial government's role in the provision of education. I was told by several officials that private sector coordinators, who receive federal funding, do not have to be licensed as private vocational schools. Examples of these officials' comments were:

> The Province has little opportunity to comment on training quality, and no right of refusal. This can be done unilaterally by Canada. . . .There is no quality control or monitoring.

> There is growth occurring independently of provincial legislation. Politically the questions are who has responsibility for postsecondary education, and who knows best for Alberta?

> Privatization under CJS is a dismal failure in terms of accountability.

Throughout my interviews, I found that no provincial officials or postsecondary educators were aware of the priority which EIC had placed on funding projects in which off-site training was provided by public institutions. However, this priority was causing much concern among private sector coordinators.

The indirect purchase issue: coordinator response. Some private sector coordinators were highly critical of the EIC priority for funding projects where most off-site training was to be provided by public institutions. A number of coordinators attended a meeting with the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development to express their concerns. In a subsequent letter by the Director to all coordinators, these concerns were summarized:

> Those coordinators present at the meeting questioned our emphasis on public training institutions for two reasons:
>
> 1. they did not believe participants were comfortable in approaching these institutions; and
> 2. they were doubtful the institutions would be able to provide the level of personal support necessary for the success of participants.

Some private sector coordinators used letters of support from training place hosts, and contacted Members of Parliament to express their concerns. One coordinator wrote directly to the Minister, as follows:

> "The Canadian Jobs Strategy involves the Federal and Provincial Governments and the private sector in a collective national effort. . . ." This is a direct quote from Job Entry/Re-Entry Guide to Proposal Development, issued by your department. . . .
> We understand from the aforementioned announcement that there was a commitment on your behalf to the private sector. . . .
> We have recently been advised that the funding for this programme has been re-allocated to public institutions. . . .
> The participants targeted for this type of programme, historically have not sought training through public institutions.
> In summary, the Federal Government made a commitment to the private sector, and to the unemployed, and with this re-allocation of funds is now withdrawing from this commitment.

A similar viewpoint was expressed by another coordinator, in writing to his local Member of Parliament:

> I believe that in most cases these [public] institutions could neither accommodate, not are they interested in the type of participant we baby-sit through to successful completion. . . .I am unimpressed by unilateral midterm shifts in priorities which appear to be in response to vested interest pressure. As a private contractor, I feel discriminated against.

The indirect purchase issue: EIC response. Through analyzing the correspondence in project files, and from interviews with EIC personnel, I found that EIC received pressure both from the coordinators, and from local Members of Parliament to explain the funding priorities. In an interview with the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development, I was told that the shift in funding priorities was "bad for morale, bad for good projects, and as well, the Region received a lot of political flack."

The EIC position was expressed by the Director in the letter to coordinators as follows:

> There is no doubt we wish to work cooperatively with the private sector, and private businesses do play a large part in the program as training place hosts. However we also have a partnership with the Provincial governments, and attempt to respond to their needs and priorities as well.

A more detailed description of the EIC position was given by a senior RHQ official in a letter to a local Member of Parliament, who had received a coordinator's letter of protest:

> As you are aware, the Government of Canada has made a decision to reduce the amount of training purchased directly from provincial institutions. . . . Over the past year, the Honourable Flora MacDonald

has increased the commitment of EIC to public education institutions in order to provide some stability to them during this time of transition. This commitment has taken the form of heightened priority for those coordinators with heavy components of training purchased from provincial public education facilities. This priority may in fact, preclude some coordinators from participating in Job Entry this year.

## Employment Opportunities

Details relating to trainees who completed or discontinued participation in Job Entry: Entry Option and Re-Entry Option projects are presented in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5

Reasons for Completing and Discontinuing Participation in Job Entry: Entry Option and Re-Entry Option Projects by Trainee Frequency

| Reason | Option<br>Entry | <br>Re-Entry |
|---|---|---|
| For discontinuation: | N = 239 | N = 76 |
| illness, maternity, death | 12 | 14 |
| financial problems | 14 | 4 |
| took job related to course content or with training place host | 50 | 9 |
| took job unrelated to course content | 41 | 9 |
| course unsuitable to trainee | 14 | 8 |
| transportation problems | 1 | 0 |
| unsatisfactory progress | 97 | 22 |
| family responsibilities | 10 | 10 |

Continued . . .

| Reason | Option<br>Entry | Re-Entry |
|---|---|---|
| For completion: | N = 222 | N = 108 |
| completed course successfully prior to scheduled date | 13 | 4 |
| completed course successfully on scheduled date | 207 | 99 |
| took job related to course content or with training place host | 2 | 4 |
| left labour force | 0 | 1 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Trainee Activity by Income Support Category, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

Some measure of the extent to which participation fostered employment opportunities can be gained from the information in Table 8.7. Of the 91 discontinuants in the Entry Option who took jobs, 50 were classified as having taken employment related to course content or with a training place hosts. Individuals in this category represent 21% of discontinuants. When similar calculations are undertaken regarding discontinuants in the Re-Entry Option, one finds that 12% of these discontinuants took jobs related to course content or with a training place host.

The information about trainees who completed participation was considered by RHQ personnel to be inaccurate. They explained that the category "completed course successfully . . ." is sometimes inferred as obtaining employment. Second, they suggested that reasons for completion are not as thoroughly investigated as reasons for discontinuation. This was because discontinuation involves individual processing of cases where the outcome was the termination of income support. For completing trainees, income support payments are usually terminated automatically on the scheduled date for completion.

Other information about the extent to which participation resulted in employment was obtained from coodinators' monthly reports, contained in project files. Some excerpts from these reports are shown below:

> The feedback from the [training place] hosts and the participants is that the Job Entry Program is very worthwhile. We are confident that the participants and [training place] hosts are in a win/win position, and that full employment will be the result.
>
> Many of the [training place] hosts have relayed their desire to have the women return to them for employment.
>
> Openings with our hosts continue to increase. The point that is truly impressive is that they do not consider these placements as free labour, but as creating a pool of very competent employees.

While these comments were positive, finer measurement of policy outcomes was difficult. The majority of projects were active during the monitoring period. There appeared to be many promises of employment but as the participants were still in training, far fewer confirmed offers.

The quality and type of employment obtained through participants was an issue which concerned coordinators and other interest groups. This newspaper report referred to the concerns of women's organizations, and the responses of a senior official at NHQ:

> "We need to get women out of these low-paying, dead-end jobs," said Lisa Avedon, past president of the Canadian Congress for Learning Opportunities for Women.
> An additional problem, Ms Avedon said, is that most of the training programs funded for women are in office skills, abilities already in plentiful supply among unemployed women in her area.
> However Bill Musgrave, chief of staff for Miss MacDonald, defended the program. . . .
> "What we're talking about are the hard core cases of women. . . .They don't have any skills, and secondly they don't know how to go about doing a job," Mr. Musgrave said. "There are out there in the labour market low-skill, low paying jobs to be filled." (Globe and Mail, 1 July 1986: p A3).

The Regional Manager of the Job Entry Program took a different view to that expressed by the Minister's Chief of Staff. In response to a ministerial inquiry, following a letter of protest sent to the Minister by a coordinator whose proposal had been rejected, the Regional Manager wrote:

> The chosen occupational areas are weak, and in occupations characterized by poor renumeration, such as daycare and sewing, and with no apparent avenues out of these occupational ghettos.

In the view of some RHQ personnel, this stance was complicated by the observation that there were a significant number of participants who had limited ability and who would be better served through this training than by not participating at all.

The state of the economy was a factor which several coordinators felt influenced the extent to which participation in their projects fostered employment opportunities. One coordinator wrote on his monthly report, following a visit to various training place hosts:

> The outlook for employment is jeopardized by the present economy due to the oil market. Therefore few students will be offered permanent employment by their host client.

The findings which have been presented in relation to employment opportunities demonstrate the difficulties in measuring this criterion. First, some of the data available through automated information systems was incomplete. Second, training place hosts were reported as showing interest, but offers of confirmed employment were less frequent. Third, the number of placements was a partial measurement of policy outcomes, since the quality of these placements may be seen to affect longer term employment opportunities. Fourth, the state of the economy complicated the possible linkages between participation and placement, through its effect on the number of job-openings.

## Equality of Participation

*Entry Option participant characteristics*. The trainee characteristics by male, female and total frequency for the Entry Option, are presented in Table 8.6.

Participants were generally unemployed. The majority of participants (54%) had attained education levels of grade 10 or less.

From analyzing coordinators' monthly reports and other correspondence in project files, I found attitudinal problems of participants to be common (at least one occurrence per project). These were evidenced by excessive lateness and absences, and were largely responsible for terminations due to unsatisfactory progress (see Table 8.7).

Table 8.6

Trainee Characteristics by Male, Female and Total Frequency in Job Entry: Entry Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 74) | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male | Female | Total |
| **Age** | | | |
| < 17 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| 17 - 19 | 20 | 5 | 25 |
| 20 - 21 | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| 21 + | 19 | 14 | 33 |
| **Education Level** | | | |
| 08 | 6 | 1 | 7 |
| 09 - 10 | 21 | 12 | 33 |
| 11 - 12 | 20 | 14 | 34 |
| Postsecondary | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| **Labour Force Status** | | | |
| Employed | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Unemployed | 45 | 21 | 66 |
| Other | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| **Target Group Participation** | | | |
| Native | 10 | 3 | 13 |
| Disabled | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Visible Minority | 8 | 5 | 13 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

Re-Entry Option participant characteristics. The characteristic frequencies for participants in the Job Entry: Re-Entry Option are presented in Table 8.7.

### Table 8.7

### Trainee Characteristics by Trainee Frequency in Job Entry: Re-Entry Option

| Trainee Characteristic | Frequency (N = 175)[1] |
|---|---|
| Age | |
| < 20 | 1 |
| 20 - 24 | 19 |
| 25 - 45 | 141 |
| 45 + | 14 |
| Education Level | |
| 08 | 14 |
| 09 - 10 | 42 |
| 11 - 12 | 119 |
| Postsecondary | 9 |
| Labour Force Status | |
| Employed | 6 |
| Unemployed | 43 |
| Other | 126 |
| Target Group Participation[1] | |
| Native | 24 |
| Disabled | 5 |
| Visible Minority | 26 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Characteristics of Trainees Who Started Courses, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

[1] Of the 175 trainees, 67 were social service recipients.

These women were mostly aged between 25 and 45 years; the majority (68%) of participants had attained an education level of grade 11 or 12. Approximately 97% had an "Unemployed" or "Other" labour force status classification, reflecting the option eligibility criteria.

In addition, 38% of participants were social service recipients. This funding was viewed by RHQ personnel as evidence of the impact of the 50% quota for social service recipients, introduced shortly after the commencement of CJS programming.

While this impact was seen as encouraging, some RHQ personnel remained critical of the eligibility criteria. The most frequently cited problem was the lack of assistance available to women working in menial, low paid jobs, and who do not receive social assistance.

The coordinators' monthly reports of Re-Entry projects, were generally, more positive than those of the Entry projects. These excerpts have been taken from the monthly reports contained in project files:

> The women continue to respond well. . . .Many say they can hardly believe that they are capable of learning again.
>
> The trainees can hardly be recognized as the timid, withdrawn and fearful women who entered our classroom in January.
>
> It has been noticed that many of the participants are walking around the College with "their heads held higher."

Also mentioned in several reports were matters relating to the effects of participation on family relationships, for example:

> For some of the women, the problems have been jealous and undermining comments from their own siblings, parents or spouses. They have had to endure remarks like "Foolish old bag, who's going to hire you?"

On the other hand, some reports showed family members to have been exceptionally supportive, for example:

> Spouses who have never taken on child or home responsibilities are taking on some of these functions.
>
> Children are quizzing their mothers on what they have learned.
>
> Some family members filter into the off-site training place to see what is happening and show support to the women.

Responses of postsecondary educators. Some postsecondary educators were critical of the federal government's approach to equity, as reflected in the eligibility criteria for the Job Entry Program. These comments were made during interviews:

> I don't agree with the targeting concept. The strength of the old programs was that everyone was treated equally.
>
> Canada [CEIC] has a hang-up over equity. There is less payoff from training the disadvantaged. Productivity should be given more emphasis . . . then more industry involvement would take place.
>
> Is the objective of CJS primarily social assistance or training? [The Regional Director General] says everything is "hunky-dory". But businessmen want the best trainees, and are reluctant to take on target group members. They say, "Don't bring in the heroics, I am trying to stay in business."

These postsecondary educators explained that the eligibility criteria posed no problem to the involvement of their institutions. However one individual did describe the experience of one licensed private vocational trade school, which made a proposal:

> [This school] was rejected by CEIC four times, because they didn't have enough target group participants. Eventually they gave up. [The proponent] told me, "we have standards."

One postsecondary educator, who had been involved in several projects contended that if the equity criteria were relaxed, then the program would be easier to market to training place hosts. This contention was supported by several postsecondary educators, as reflected in the comments recorded earlier. He continued that

> I applaud CJS on servicing those most in need. . . . But I wonder whether the typical Job Entry project is enough. Some Entry Option participants require a thorough attitude adjustment, perhaps taking up to 3 years.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

**Participant income support.** The types, and average rates of income support for Entry and Re-Entry Option participants is shown in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8

Type and Average $ Rate Per Day of Income Support by Job Entry: Entry Option and Re-Entry Option

| Program Option | Type of Income Support | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Training Allowance/UI | Dependent Care | Living Away From Home | Commuting |
| Entry | 23.94 | 22.41 | 15.00 | 3.63 |
| Re-Entry | 24.53 | 25.29 | 00.00 | 4.59 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Income Support Analysis of Participants in Training During the 1986/87 Fiscal Year by Job Entry Program Option, Cumulative to 2 October 1986.

Some measure of the adequacy of the levels of income support can be taken from the finding that 6% of Entry Option discontinuants and 5% of Re-Entry Option discontinuants withdrew their participation due to financial problems (see Table 8.7).

While these figures may indicate that income support levels are generally satisfactory, this excerpt, from a letter written by a participant in one project, presents a different view:

> I am making approximately $482.00 per month. Out of this, I pay $225.00 in rent, $26.00 for bus fare, and at least $25.00 for rent on my telephone. This leaves about $50.00 per week for groceries. I can live on that if no additional expenses come up. What happens if I am prescribed medication? I either starve, or buy medication. . . .I think that unless something is done about pay raises, the program will not succeed.

This letter was supported and signed by all participants in that project, and was attached to the coordinator's monthly report.

In contrast to this view, one coordinator felt that some participants did not appreciate training allowances. He expressed his opinion in a monthly report as follows:

> Unfortunately, some have the negative attitude, "how do they expect us to live on this amount?" They need to be reminded that this is a training program, a learning opportunity for which any other students pay their own way. This attitude is characteristic of their irresponsibility and expectation that the world owes them a living.

Two other coordinators argued that training allowances were an inappropriate form of income support. They contended that greater commitment could result through using a subsidized wage system with incentives for regular attendance and bonuses for achieving productivity targets.

Contributions to coordinators. The average amount for each type of CEIC contribution made to coordinators of Entry and Re-Entry Option projects is presented in Table 8.9.

Table 8.9

Type of Contribution by Average Amount Per Project in the Job Entry: Entry Option and Re-Entry Option

| Type of Contribution | Average Amount ($)[1] | |
|---|---|---|
| | Entry (N = 26) | Re-Entry (N = 17) |
| Developmental | 9857 | 8876 |
| Monitoring | 9346 | 8858 |
| Off-Site | 65138 | 77552 |
| Health and Safety | 4377 | 6091 |
| Enhancement | 6139 | 4566 |
| Total | 94857 | 105943 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Report on Active Agreements, Cumulative to 31 October 1986.

[1] Details for 5 Entry Option projects and 6 Re-Entry Option projects had not been entered in the information systems.

In discussing these figures with RHQ personnel, I was informed that coordinators, operating projects involving between 20 and 30 participants, would receive an annual income in the range of $25,000 to $28,000. They contended that this income was not excessive, considering the hours and the type of work involved. They added that most coordinators gave off-site training in order to make projects more profitable.

These contentions may be compared with the information in Tables 8.3 and 8.11. With the off-site training contribution excluded, and on the basis of two cycles per year, the remaining annual contribution to each coordinator would be between $55,000 and $60,000. From this contribution, the coordinators must pay costs associated with project development, monitoring, health and safety measures, and enhancement training. From the details available in project files, I found that the assessment of the net income of coordinators would be a complex and time consuming task. This was due to a very large number of claims covering each contribution category in each project. Consequently I did not attempt this task, and therefore was unable to corroborate the information from RHQ personnel.

Responses of postsecondary educators and provincial officials. The contributions received by private sector coordinators were a concern to some postsecondary educators and provincial officials. This newspaper article referred to this concern as follows:

> Community colleges and provincial education officials are angered, and say that [CJS] is stripping established programs, and handing over their role, and their traditional sources of financing to private businesses (Globe and Mail, 12 June 1986).

Related views were strongly expressed in interviews with postsecondary educators and provincial officials. For example, one individual referred to private sector coordinators as "a huge host of opportunistic contractors . . . making fortunes overnight." Another suggested that the emphasis on privatization by the federal government was illusory, in stating:

> Privatization in CJS is a travesty. It is privatization dependent on full government support. Without funding, these coordinators could not survive.

Evidence pertaining to this remark was found through analyzing the private sector coordinators' responses to the change in policy brought about by the indirect purchase issue.

The indirect purchase issue: coordinator response. The concerns of coordinators were summarized in this excerpt from a memorandum sent to RHQ by a CJS Unit Manager:

> The programs are essentially only profitable when the coordinator does the training. By contracting out significant chunks to public institutions, there is no margin in running a program.

RHQ personnel explained that the requirement to purchase the majority of training from public institutions was introduced at the time many coordinators were preparing for a second project cycle. The implications for coordinators were expressed in this extract from a letter to a CJS Unit Manager. The individual, writing on behalf of several other coordinators, commented:

> The structuring of the 1985 Job Entry Program allowed the opportunity to develop worth-while programs that during the first year, involved a great deal of time and skill, for the revenue received. Future courses of the same nature would have generated a more appropriate return for the effort invested; however due to the current amendments this will be much harder to attain.

The indirect purchase issue: EIC response. The Regional Director General wrote the following explanation in responding to an inquiry from a local Member of Parliament, who had received a letter of complaint from a private sector coordinator:

> Certainly, I understand that this prospect may be displeasing to coordinators who will be negatively affected by this direction. It should be noted, though, that EIC, at no point, ever assured "tenure" of funding to any coordinator. Each was aware that funding was contingent on a number of factors, including availability of funds from year to year, project performance, and regional priorities, which may shift from time to time.

I discussed the possibility that coordinators may have gained an impression of tenure of funding with several RHQ staff. One senior official stated that such impressions may have been partly attributable to the actions of CEIC personnel in the early stages of program implementation. This individual suggested:

> The project officers had envisioned the development of a dependable core of coordinators, and perhaps had given the impression that successful programs would receive ongoing support.

The change in funding priorities was viewed by another senior official at RHQ as a clear example of the influence of extraneous factors. This individual explained:

> The indirect purchase requirement distorted the program objectives, and in fact became a defacto objective.

Another RHQ staff member was critical of the shift in funding priorities and stated:

> The Minister's verbal commitment to the provinces led to soliciting direct contracts with public institutions, which was not the original intent of the program.

This individual contended that such contracts were a form of direct purchase, which the government had originally sought to decrease through introducing the 10% cut in funding for 1986/87.

Nevertheless, contracts with public institutions were considered by RHQ personnel, involved with the Job Entry Program, as an important means of maintaining a reasonable level of "indirect purchase expenditure." This person explained:

> We hope to continue to have public institutions as coordinators. This mechanism of directing funds enables us to continue funding those projects without significant amounts of indirect purchase.

Shortly before my monitoring of the Job Entry Program concluded, RHQ personnel were informed by officials at NHQ that extra funds were available, and that the Minister had said that there was to be no slippage of funds at the end of the 1986/87 financial year. Therefore RHQ personnel were required to solicit proposals for projects which could be operational as quickly as possible, and be concluded prior to April 1987. One RHQ staff member remarked:

> This had the effect of "opening the gates". . . .The money had to be spent . . . and at least for the time being the indirect purchase issue seemed less important.

When monitoring was concluded, the indirect purchase issue was unresolved.

# Interpretations

## Historical Context

The design of the Job Entry Program reflects aspects of recurrent education presented by Houghton and Richardson (1974) and OECD (1973,1975). Houghton and Richardson (1974) proposed that recurrent education policy should especially provide for those excluded from current practice. These authors argued that more should be done to encourage the participation of individuals who lacked recurrent education opportunities. The Job Entry Program focusses upon these concerns by addressing the needs of unemployed youth without postsecondary qualifications, and those of women who have been out of the labour force for at least three years.

Similarly Kallen and Bengtsson (OECD, 1973) suggested that recurrent education may be an effective way of dealing with some problems associated with the traditional "front-end" model of education. They cited the increasing incidence of dropouts and the educational disadvantage of older groups. The Entry Option is designed to deal with the former problem and the Re-Entry Option, the latter problem at least as it relates to women.

The 1975 OECD report, Recurrent Education: Trends and Issues, referred to the need for continued access to education for 16 - 19 year olds, new policies on admission and certification, retraining of educational personnel, the provision of workplace counsellors, and more direct engagement of recurrent education with employment policies.

The focus on unemployed youth, the role of the coordinator and the training place host in providing training and employment opportunities, and the initial implications for change in public institutions are characteristics of the Entry Option. These characteristics are closely related to those needs expressed by OECD (1975).

## Motives

The primary motives of the Job Entry Program, relate to participation and equity. The eligibility criteria focus upon the employment-disadvantaged. The objective of the program is to assist these individuals to make the transition to the labour market, by the provision of training in basic skills and occupation-specific skills, and related work experience.

A secondary motive of bringing about institutional change may be suggested. This was evidenced through the initial emphasis upon channelling resources to the private sector or non-profit organizations, which in turn could have used those resources to purchase training in public institutions. Institutional change may have been planned to occur through the adjustment of admission and certification requirements, and through course offerings. However the possible motive of institutional change was thwarted by the response of the provincial ministers to the proposed decreases in direct purchase expenditure.

Therefore the contention of Levin and Schutze (1983) that diversity of motives may be the greatest political obstacle to the adoption and implementation of recurrent education policy was supported.

## Obstacles to Participation

Ascriptive factors such as age and sex, and social background factors such as educational level and employment history, are described by Timmermann (1983) as obstacles to participation. These factors are directly addressed through the program's eligibility criteria, by focussing upon the age, sex, educational level, and employment history characteristics considered likely to inhibit participation.

While the eligibility criteria have been designed to overcome the obstacles to participation faced by these groups, it appears that a difficult problem remains in adjusting individuals' attitudes to participation. For Entry participants, their previous educational experiences and general outlook on society were evidenced to sometimes adversely affect their involvement. For Re-Entry participants, levels of self-confidence and varying degrees of family support were seen to influence their attitude to participation.

## Equity Principles

The eligibility criteria of the Job Entry Program reflect aspects of vertical equity.

The Re-Entry criterion in restricting participation to women may be viewed as positivism (or affirmative action). McMahon (1982) describes positivism as aiming at the elimination of intergenerational inequity. A question raised by EIC personnel in response to this equity stance concerned the level of disadvantage experienced by these women, when compared with men engaged in similar activities or women in menial, low-paying jobs. A finding related to this question was that 73% of the Re-Entry women had attained an education level of grade 11 or higher. This would not appear to suggest a substantial educational disadvantage.

The attempt was made by RHQ personnel to develop a more rigorous criterion based upon the principle of vertical equity, by instituting a 50% quota for social recipients.

Further evidence of the focus on vertical equity was the provision of enhancement funding for individuals requiring additional training. This provision may be identified as proportionality, defined by McMahon (1982) as a type of equity where benefits are distributed in proportion to need.

### Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

The indirect purchase issue. The actions of the federal Minister, the responses of EIC personnel and the reactions of coordinators over the indirect purchase issue, may be interpreted through Smith's (1973) model of policy implementation.

On the basis of the original emphasis upon economic partnership in the provision of training opportunities (EA 27.01), EIC personnel negotiated contracts with private consultants. Through such negotiations, some RHQ personnel felt that coordinators may have been given an impression that coordinators responsible for successful programs would receive ongoing support.

When many of these coordinators were ready to apply for a second cycle of funding, EIC personnel were informed of the need to give priority to proposals which contained public institutional training. This need, brought about by the federal Minister's assurance to provincial Ministers, generated considerable tension between EIC personnel and coordinators, and between coordinators and Members of Parliament (MPs).

Using Smith's (1973) model, the requirement to purchase training from public institutions, caused interactions in relation to the idealized policy between the implementing organization (EIC) and environmental factors (coordinators), as well as among environmental factors (coordinators and MPs). Coordinators perceived that the requirement contravened the intent of policy. EIC personnel responded by arguing that they also had a responsibility to cooperate with the provincial government.

Two transactions took place as a result of these tensions. First, EIC personnel advised the coordinators that proposals with public institutional training would receive priority, but that should extra funding become available, other proposals may be considered. Second, EIC became active in soliciting proposals from public institutions. The reason for this action was to increase the level of indirect purchase to the degree that some proposals without significant amounts of public institutional training, may be able to receive approval.

The latter transaction led to the generation of further tension. Direct contracting with public institutions had not been the original intent for CJS programming, as evidenced by the 10% decrease in direct purchase expenditure. This subsequent tension was between the implementing organization (EIC) and the idealized policy (CJS).

Employment opportunities and equity considerations. Smith's (1973) model may also be used to interpret the actions of EIC personnel in relation to fostering employment opportunities and promoting equity.

When faced with assessing the employment potential associated with participation in a particular project, EIC personnel must consider the relationships between the participant characteristics, the type of training which is proposed, and the potential opportunities in the job market. In Smith's terms, this represents interaction between the implementing organization (EIC), the target group (the participants), and environmental factors (the job market). Several tensions were evidenced as emerging from these interactions.

First, EIC personnel have a responsibility to assist participants to make the transition to permanent employment. They have a further responsibility to foster employment equity. Tension emerges where the jobs available for these participants are menial and require low level skills. This tension becomes more complex where the participants' characteristics are viewed as limiting the range of opportunities to those types of work. The dilemma of EIC personnel is whether to approve the proposal and thereby encourage participants to accept such opportunities, or to reject the proposal on the basis that participation would reinforce disadvantage by leading participants to "job ghettos", from which the potential for career development is limited. A related factor to this dilemma was explained by RHQ personnel to be that the outcome of rejecting a proposal may possibly be a continuing dependence on welfare. The transactions relating to this tension mostly reflected a pragmatic stance, evidenced by conditions attached to the recommendation for approval. For example, the coordinator may have been advised to include training place hosts with greater recruitment potential.

A second tension occurs where EIC personnel consider that the proposal contains evidence of excellent training or counselling opportunities, but due to the state of the economy, the likelihood of ongoing employment is minimal. This situation arose where the training place hosts were willing to provide work experience, but due to economic circumstances were unable to guarantee employment following project completion. The dilemma in this case is whether to reject the proposal on the basis that employment potential is limited, or accept the proposal and argue that the participation has sufficient value.

## Notions of Politics and Political Systems

The response of the coordinators to the indirect purchase priorities was to write to the Minister and other MPs and attend meetings with EIC personnel. This response was a striking example of political action, as defined by Iannacone (1980). He suggested that "the essence of the political act was the struggle to secure the authoritative support of the government for [one's] values" (Iannacone, 1980:200).

The coordinators were largely unsuccessful in securing government support. However, in some cases their actions resulted in letters of inquiry to RHQ from MPs.

EIC personnel had responsibility for managing conflicts with coordinators. They also were required through their duty to the Minister to give priority to proposals with public institutional training, and present the federal government's position in the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. Kaufman's view of the relations between governments and individuals may be used to interpret the relations of EIC personnel with the provincial government and coordinators. Kaufman (cited in Iannacone, 1980:193) contends that such relations

> are more like a tangled web of rubber bands - intricate, elastic, capable of accomodating all sorts of pressures yet retaining their shape under tension of many forces and counter forces, and very taut much of the time.

Through the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations, EIC personnel had been made aware of the concerns of postsecondary educators and provincial officials relating to use of non-provincially approved private trainers. EIC personnel also recognized the position of the coordinators, some of whom felt deceived by the federal government's unexpected policy shift. The challenge facing these personnel was to present a coordinated and credible public response to these pressures.

EIC personnel were united in their response to coordinators. They explained that CEIC also had a responsibility to the provincial government, but that should extra funds become available, the coordinators' proposals may be reconsidered. A related and less public response was to encourage public institutions to act as coordinators, and therefore make possible the approval of some proposals without public institutional training components. Consequently, when funds did become available (as occurred in October 1986), EIC credibility was maintained since their advice to coordinators had been that unsuccessful applications may be reconsidered under such circumstances.

The response of EIC personnel illustrates Schuller's (1978) contentions relating to coordination. He proposes that

> when one tries to give coordination an operational meaning, it may well prove to be a far from smooth process and to throw up all sorts of issues, which are not amenable to orthodox planning techniques (Schuller, 1978:45).

The planning techniques may not be considered as orthodox in the sense of their relationship to the policy objective of gradually decreasing the direct purchase expenditure in public institutions.

## Resource Dependency

Weeres (1984) explains that the resource dependency model assumes that politics is a function of the dependency of individuals or groups on external resources. This model may be used to interpret the reaction of the coordinators to the changes in funding priorities.

Two reasons may be suggested for the coordinators' concern. First, since the majority of planning and development had taken place prior to and during the first project cycle, many coordinators had envisaged a smoother and less expensive second intake. Second, coordinators during the first cycle had assumed the primary training responsibilities. Several EIC personnel and coordinators contended that this was the major source of financial return for the coordinators' efforts. The sub-contracting of training would have meant a substantial loss of income for coordinators.

A measure of the extent to which these coordinators were dependent on CEIC resources may be gauged by their responses. Their letters of protest to EIC personnel, local Members of Parliament, and the federal Minister, as well as their attempts to introduce public institutional training components to their training plans, are measures of such dependence. One provincial official commented that the level of dependence of private sector coordinators on CEIC funds was so extreme that use of the term "privatization" was a travesty.

The resource dependency model would seem to be an appropriate means to explain the political action of coordinators. Further, it may also be applied to examine the limited involvement of some public institutions, at least during the initial months of CJS programming. The larger public institutions may appear to have been less inclined to participate, partly due to their lesser dependence on this type of funding.

## Theories of Government and Associated Definitions of Policy

Functionalism. Mitchell's (1985) functionalist conception assumes governments act as service delivery mechanisms which aim to achieve social goals that would be impossible to reach through private actions alone.

CJS policy documents refer to the government's role in functionalist terms. For example, the cooperative development of direct services is emphasized as an essential component:

> The implementation of the Job Entry Program is dependent upon the willingness of economic partners to actively take part in the provision of training opportunities (EA 27.01,1).

However the indirect purchase issue and training agreement negotiations inhibited this cooperative development and "economic partnership". This factor may be viewed to have brought a shift in government action, from functionalism to exchange theory.

Exchange theory. The requirement to purchase from public institutions was a result of the need to compensate provincial governments for decreases in direct purchase expenditure. It may therefore be considered as introducing scarcity to the policy context. The federal government could not afford to continue funding projects without public institutional training. This scarcity may be viewed as bringing about conflict. In responding to the Minister's directives and dealing with concerned coordinators, the action of EIC personnel changed from service delivery to conflict management.

Once scarcity had been introduced, the functionalist conception was no longer appropriate. Scarcity necessitated that the government regulate the actions of coordinators. Mitchell's (1985) exchange theory perspective would seem to more accurately describe such action.

Exchange theory assumes governments act as conflict management mechanisms, which influence conflict by controlling choices through subsidy and regulation. The coordinators were given the choice to purchase public institutional training, or be prepared to have their proposal rejected.

There is one further aspect of the apparent shift from functionalism to exchange theory. This aspect refers to the position taken by the government, as reflected through Ministerial statements, and EIC correspondence to coordinators and Members of Parliament. Such statements and correspondence tended to continue in a functionalist tone.

The emphasis upon cooperative development was still evident. For example, references continued in relation to EIC's responsibility to meet the needs of the provincial government, as well as those of the coordinators. Also coordinators were commonly informed that their involvement was important, and were frequently encouraged to reapply.

Therefore the application of Mitchell's framework may be extended to include the possibility of a "public" and a "less public" form of government action as occurring simultaneously.

# CHAPTER 9

## Job Development

The objective of the Job Development Program is:

> To improve the labour market performance of long-term unemployed individuals by creating new productive work-place oriented jobs that combine relevant training and/or skill acquisition activities and related work experience (EA 45, App.A).

Long-term unemployed individuals are generally considered to be persons who have been "jobless but willing to work for at least 24 out of the last 30 weeks" (EA 45, App.A).

There are four options under the Job Development Program. These are General Projects, Individually Subsidized Jobs, Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged, and Direct Purchase. The findings related to the first three options are presented in this chapter. The remaining option, Direct Purchase, is described in Chapter 5.

### General Projects: Policy Inputs and Processes

### Option Design

Individuals whose primary reason for joblessness is "a lack of available employment opportunities" are eligible to participate in this option (EA 45, App.A).

A key factor underlying the option's overall design and delivery is

> [an] emphasis on the private sector to develop activities and opportunities, along with the non-profit sector and local governments (EA 45.01,2c).

In the General Projects Option, the objective of the Job Development Program is designed to be met through projects "managed by either private or non-profit sector employers which will provide training and create incremental work-place oriented jobs" (EA 45.02,2a).

The role of the sponsor. The responsibility for arranging the training lies with the employer (or sponsor) who manages the project. "Employers" and "sponsors" are terms used interchangeably. They may be "businesses, individuals, labour groups, voluntary organizations, school boards or municipalities" (CJS, WH3515:3). They receive a wage subsidy for each participant in their project and financial compensation for training and other costs. To obtain these contributions, sponsors must demonstrate "competent management, including acceptable financial and administrative control" (EA 45.30,1b).

The nature of training. The goal of training is

> to help participants to develop the knowledge, skills and attitudes which, when combined with their work experience, will assist them to find full-time permanent employment (CJS, WH3597:11).

Projects are usually funded from 16 to 52 weeks, and training is encouraged "in occupations which are in demand in the labour market" (CJS, WH3597:2).

Training activities can be theoretical or practical, or a combination of both. Theoretical and practical training are defined as follows:

> Theoretical training is conducted through direct instruction or demonstration in a classroom setting, or other non-production site, or at a production site, provided any resulting production is incidental.
>
> Practical training is guided supervision during production activity (CJS, WH3597:13).

Work experience is distinguished from practical training in that

> Work experience means the normal, ongoing activities in which workers will participate while under regular supervision (CJS, WH3597:15).

The distinction lies in the interpretation of "regular supervision" as compared to "guided supervision." Work experience is designed to "build on the foundations established during training" (CJS, WH3597:15).

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

Process synopsis. The following description was compiled using information from CJS policy documents and interviews with RHQ and CJS Unit Personnel.

The General Projects Option is delivered by CJS Units, in cooperation with RHQ and CECs. RHQ personnel regard this option as requiring a higher degree of proactive behaviour than other CJS program elements. A major reason was said to be the fluctuating availability of funds, and the subsequent imposition of deadlines for the submission of applications.

Through newspaper advertisements and distribution of materials by using mailing lists of possible sponsors, EIC personnel endeavour to attract large numbers of applications quickly. For example, an advertisement in the Edmonton

Examiner of 22 September 1985 read:

> Funding is now available to employers who are able to provide training and work experience for unemployed individuals. . . .
>
> Employers are encouraged to apply by October 17, 1986. For application forms . . . contact your local Canada Employment Centre or Employment Development Branch [CJS Unit].

Once application forms have been requested, completed and returned by potential sponsors, a project officer at the CJS Unit is assigned to deal with the application. A policy circular concerning the role of the project officer read:

> Applications are assessed by a Project Officer. The Project Officer consults with the applicant, the CEC, the MP, educational institutions and other relevant government officials and/or experts. In conjunction with the applicant, the Project Officer often revises the application.

This consultation process is explained in the following excerpts from other policy circulars, sent from RHQ to the CJS Units:

> At the request of the Minister's Office, we have been requested to ensure all Job Development project proposals are given to Members of Parliament for comments as soon as they are received by officials.
>
> The CEC's input must be sought regarding the availability of qualified long-term unemployed workers. CECs may also be able to provide background relating to the communities' needs, employers' history, and other relevant issues.
>
> The wide range of activities undertaken by Job Development projects makes it necessary that outside experts be consulted on proposals in order to ensure that they are relevant, practicable, reasonable in terms of cost and length, do not duplicate existing services, and do not create an unfair competitive advantage.

After these consultations have taken place, the project officer makes a recommendation to the Regional Review Committee (RRC) to consider the application. The RRC consists of the Regional Chief of Job Development: General Projects Option, the CJS Unit Manager who chairs the meeting, a supervisor from the CJS Unit, a CEC representative, a training consultant from RHQ, and representatives from the provincial government (Alberta Manpower), and from the Chamber of Commerce..

In contrast to the Review Board process in the Job Entry Program, the proponent is not invited to the RRC meeting. The project officer who recommended the application makes a short presentation and is asked questions.

As deadlines on the submission of applications are a feature of this program element, RRC meetings are scheduled over periods of one - two days during which 30 proposals may be assessed. One RHQ staff member indicated:

> The discussion of each application is kept as short as possible, on the assumption that the project officer has spent hours and hours working with sponsors, and is well prepared.

Assessment by the RRC usually takes place two weeks after the application has been received.

This excerpt from a policy circular summarizes the possible outcomes of a RRC meeting:

> The Regional Review Committee either recommends or rejects the proposal. Occasionally, the RRC may ask a project officer to re-develop an application for future consideration, or attach conditions to a recommendation.

The local Member of Parliament (MP) must be consulted on all projects. A policy circular sent from RHQ to the CJS Units read:

> If the Member of Parliament disagrees with the recommendation, the Project Officer shall attempt to clarify any misunderstanding and negotiate, whenever possible, to reach mutual agreement. If a consensus cannot be reached between the MP and the CJS Unit, it will be documented on the Non-Consensus form. The proposal will be forwarded to the Minister for a final decision.

All projects which had been recommended by the RRC to and including the time of monitoring, had MP concurrence.

Proposals which are recommended by the RRC are forwarded to the Minister for approval. After the Minister has reviewed and signed the approval documents, they are sent by facsimile transmission to the MP and to the Public Affairs Branch. Personnel at RHQ are informed of the Minister's decision later, since they are sent the original documents through the mail.

Once the documents have been received at RHQ, the CJS Unit is contacted. The CJS Unit then notifies the sponsor and the contract is signed.

Skill Acquisition. To be recommended for approval by the RRC, the proposed activities "must include both a training component and work experience component" (EA 45.30,1), and the proponent must demonstrate that "the participants will receive appropriate supervision" (EA 45.30,2a). The proposal must also include documentation of

> the specific employment skill(s) which the employer proposes to provide, develop or enhance for a client, [and] the means by which these objectives will be achieved (EA 45.35,3).

In developing training plans, potential sponsors were advised in the original Job Development: Guide to Applicants (CJS, WH3527:9):

> Since effective training depends on the knowledge and skills of the trainers, your means of locating and selecting these individuals should be indicated. Community colleges, school boards, trade schools or private trainers might assist in this task.

By August 1986 matters relating to indirect purchase had become a source of concern. This was reflected by this inclusion in the revised Job Development: Guide to Applicants (CJS, WH3597):

> Priority will be given to proposals which purchase training from provincially funded training institutions.

A similar reference was contained in the first quarterly report of Alberta Region for the 1986/87 fiscal year, as follows, "the major interest for the fall round is in identifying projects which contain public institutional training activity."

The General Projects Option, having the largest budget available for the indirect purchase of training, of any CJS program element, received an indirect purchase target of $2 million (the total regional target was approximately $4.6 million).

Several difficulties were cited in CJS policy documents in relation to reaching the $2 million target.

First, of the $16 million in the 1986/87 budget, some $6 million had been taken by carryover from 1985/86. Carryover was defined in a policy circular as follows:

> Of all agreements signed in 1985/86, carryover is: the 1986/87 portion as per fiscal year split, and the portion of 1985/86 commitments not paid out in 1985/86.

The restrictions which carryover placed on the ability to reach the $2 million target were explained in a policy circular as follows:

> The end result is that we must make up nearly $2 million in institutional purchase from $10 million rather than the whole $16 million.

This restriction caused concern among RHQ personnel, as evidenced in this excerpt from a memorandum sent to CJS Unit personnel:

> A fixed amount of institutional purchase has been superimposed on the program, dictating that out of every $5 spent, $1 will go to the purchase of training at a provincial institution. If this position is held to the letter, projects will not be approved on their merit, but largely on the amount of indirect purchase requested.

A second difficulty faced by EIC personnel was explained in this memorandum from the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option to the Regional Manager, as follows:

> It is difficult to purchase courses from education institutions if applications are accepted on a continuous intake basis, or if deadlines and approval procedures do not coincide with start dates of available courses.

While EIC personnel had been advised to emphasize the indirect purchase training, in fact they had little opportunity. Between April and September 1986, no proposals were either solicited or approved since no funds were made available to finance new projects.

However, in September, RHQ personnel received a directive from NHQ that funds were available, and that solicitation and development of proposals was to begin immediately.

Following the receipt of this directive, the Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development wrote a memorandum to her Regional Managers, asking that they inform all CECs of the following guidelines:

> — While indirect purchase is still desirable, no projects should be turned down for the lack thereof; and
>
> While carryover remains a concern, the 30% limit is lifted. Every effort should be made, however, to get activity contracted quickly, and to mimimize the impact in '87 - 88.

Similar guidelines were given to CJS Unit Managers by the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option, in a memorandum dated 22 September 1986, as follows:

> In order to more fully utilize the 1986/87 Job Development allocation, the decision has been taken to liberalize the indirect purchase requirements even though the consequences may be a shortfall in overall regional indirect purchase.

The deadline imposed for the submission of applications was 17 October 1986.

Employment Opportunities. In submitting a proposal, the potential sponsor must ensure:

> The jobs proposed for funding are in addition to both existing jobs or jobs which normally would have been created in the absence of the program. [Further] program funds may not be used to displace existing or laid-off employees (CJS, WH3597:1).

Another factor in assessing proposals was expressed in the revised Job Development: Guide to Applicants (CJS, WH3597), as follows: "the degree to which the position relates to occupations which are considered to be a priority in Alberta."

These comments refer to the application of criteria for assessing employment opportunities and were taken from assessment summary sheets, which are sent to the Minister following RRC meetings:

> Employer wishes to retain employees at the end of program.
>
> Prospect for future employment good.
>
> There is a need for these workers. Jobs will result on and off the reserve.
>
> Project is likely to create permanent employment; sponsor has good credit and management history.
>
> A large proportion of the skills are transferable, improving the employability of the participants.
>
> Past experience with this sponsor is good.

Some proposals which were eventually approved did initially receive negative feedback from CEC and CJS Unit personnel. These comments were taken from Applicant Assessment Forms in project files:

> This appears to be a "make work" situation with no permanent employment in mind.
>
> Transferability of museum-specific skills will not assist participants in finding employment outside this industry.
>
> Future opportunities with this organization are questionable.
>
> There has been little expansion in housing starts in area. Risk of flooding market, train no more than 5 or 6.
>
> [Indian Affairs] do not think more than 2 trainees will find employment after the project if finished.
>
> Longterm job prospects are limited.

> There is a current high unemployment rate amongst data entry operators.
>
> At present, potential not good at all. However, factors such as Olympic and related construction will greatly improve this potential.

Approximately 10% of the projects on file had received comments, such as those described above. When I questioned RHQ personnel regarding these findings, they argued that a pragmatic stance is sometimes required. They contended that the alternative to participation, even where the prospects for continuing employment are limited, is a continuing dependence on welfare.

Another factor, considered by RHQ to affect employment opportunities, was that sponsors were not required to give guarantees of employment. One RHQ staff member remarked that

> employers need only to say that the clients were not suitable, when the project is finished. We can't do anything about it.

This individual did qualify the remark by stating: "We do, of course, consider sponsors' history if they make other applications."

Equality of Participation. The basic eligibility criterion for this option is that the individual is to have been jobless for 24 out of the last 30 weeks, and that the reason for joblessness is a lack of available employment opportunities (EA 45, App.A).

In developing proposals, the project officer must inform the potential sponsor:

> In accordance with the federal government's commitment to employment equity, proposals addressing the employment needs of women, Native

> people, disabled persons and visible minorities will be given a higher priority than other proposals (CJS, WH3515:1).

Further, project officers were advised through a policy circular:

> For a Regional Review Committee to be confident that it is recommending projects which will enable the Region to meet its Employment Equity goals, it would be helpful if project officers have established specific hiring plans with sponsors.

In a later policy circular, project officers were reminded:

> CEIC Employment Equity and Designated Group Consultants should be contacted regarding employment equity target group participation in all proposals.

Brief comments, relating to the satisfaction of eligibility criteria and equity targets, were contained in assessment documents resulting from RRC meetings. Some examples were:

> Sponsor has satisfied eligibility criteria.
>
> Project has a reasonable target group participation.

One more detailed comment was:

> These people, if not gotten to now, may be lost soon because they will be discouraged or otherwise become hardcore unemployed.

Equity of the Financial Burden. Encouraging equity of the financial burden involves both the degree and manner of cost-sharing arrangements. From searching project files and RHQ correspondence files, and from conducting interviews with RHQ and CJS Unit personnel, I considered that a major factor related to the criterion, "encouraging equity of the financial burden" was funding availability. Funding freezes and deadlines for the submission of applications had a profound influence on program delivery. This influence was most strongly evidenced by intermittent periods of extremely high activity, during which some criteria (such as the indirect purchase of institutional training) were relaxed.

The following description is designed to relate the actions of the Minister and Members of the Opposition concerning the General Projects Option funding arrangements, and the effects which these actions had on program delivery.

On 18 October 1985, the Minister announced:

> Certainly under the new CJS, there is a flexibility to look at the projects as they come forward to see whether or not they are sufficient, and to adjust them accordingly (Hansard, 18 October 1985).

This statement and others made by the Mimister in the House of Commons (Hansard, 23 January 1985), referred to CJS as a policy designed to operate on a flexible, and continuous intake basis.

In February 1986, problems began to emerge in relation to funding availability. A newspaper report read:

> At least $226-million in job-creation and training funds approved for this fiscal year are expected to be forfeited because the federal government has taken too long to get new programs into operation.
>
> These figures are only forecasts, officials said, because the fiscal year continues until the end of March, but the loss in money for job creation will be permanent because funds not spent are taken away at the end of the fiscal year (Globe and Mail, 28 February 1986).

RHQ personnel explained that the September 1985 commencement of CJS programming meant that General Projects Option projects did not become operational until December

1985 or January 1986, due to the time needed for solicitation, development, and approval of proposals. These late starts meant that most projects would carryover to the 1986/87 fiscal year, since the average project length was approximately 6 months. This situation did not initially cause concern, since advance payments to sponsors were thought possible. However, towards the end of the 1985/86 fiscal year, a "fiscal freeze" on advance payments was introduced following a directive from NHQ.

This freeze had two effects. First, it increased the amount of lapsed ("lost") funds for the 1985/86 fiscal year. Second, it resulted in increased carryover into the 1986/87 fiscal year.

The Minister was asked this question in the House of Commons in March 1986, and gave the following response:

> Mr. Nelson A. Riis (Kamloops, Shuswap): Is she [the Minister] aware that, as a result of the federal Government's spending freeze, important job development programs have been stalled and virtually curtailed?
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald (Minister of Employment and Immigration): The freeze has not affected the programs of this Department. If there is a specific area in question, it may be that the regional allocation to that area has already been used up. I will look into the question and report back to the Hon. Member.
>
> Mr. Nelson A. Riis: I can guarantee that allocations have not been used up and that ample funds are available.
>
> Miss MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, projects under the Canadian Jobs Strategy are being approved every day . . . .(Hansard, 19 March 1986).

The Minister did not seem to be aware of the effects of the funding freeze on CJS programming. This memorandum, dated 2 May 1986, sent between RHQ personnel involved with the Job Development Program read:

> The fiscal freeze on advance payments resulted in increased carryover into 1986/87. The Job Development Program was not being actively solicited during February and March. The Minister did not make any announcements of funds for the new year, or on the application/approval process.

Despite the matters referred to in this memorandum, the Minister continued to assure Members of the Opposition that the Job Development Program was operating on a continuous intake basis:

> Mr. Cyril Keeper (Winnipeg North Centre): If it is true that those unspent moneys will be returned to the general revenue for deficit reduction purposes, how can the Minister explain that fact in light of the Prime Minister's commitment that there would be no cut-backs. . . ?
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, I think the Hon. Member will recognize that lapses are part of the ongoing administration. . . .
> In the meantime, I want to assure the Hon. Member that what we have been able to do that is different from the past is introduce multi-year funding into the Canadian Jobs Strategy so that we will continue to approve projects on an ongoing basis as the come forward.
> Mr. Speaker, let me assure the Hon. Member that the Canadian Jobs Strategy is in place and working well. Projects are continuously being approved from the funding of 1986-87 (Hansard, 14 April 1986).

At the time when the Minister made these statements, no proposals in the General Projects Option in Alberta had been approved since February. Shortly after these statements, RHQ was informed by NHQ to commence active solicitation. This memorandum, dated 20 May 1986, sent to CJS Unit Managers by the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option, refers to the intended regional response:

> The Minister has requested that each Region provide a dromedary (light fast moving one humped camel) of projects. We require $1 million in projects to be submitted to NHQ before the end of May. Please try to develop projects with indirect purchase of training, if this is not possible, good quality projects will be acceptable.

After this period of activity, CJS Unit personnel were informed by the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option in a memorandum, dated 6 June 1986:

> I would advise that no new projects will be approved until after a fall announcement by the Minister.

Over May and June, 1986 the Minister continued to receive questions from Members of the Opposition. However, she no longer referred to CJS programs in terms of operating on a continuous intake basis:

> Hon. Warren Allmand (Notre-Dame-de-Grace-Lachine East): Will the Minister explain why since April her Department has virtually closed down the Job Development Program, in that her officials across the country have been telling applicants that the funds are frozen?
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald (Minister of Employment and Immigration): Mr. Speaker, indeed, I have checked with my officials. . . .We are managing our money carefully. By the end of June, we expect that something in the order of 22,000 people will be involved in Job Development projects across the country.

This remark by the Minister referred to the expected activity period in May.

Opposition members continued to be critical. In June, the following exchange took place:

> Ms. Pauline Jewett (New Westminster-Coquitlam): This is supposed to be a continuous intake program. Can the Minister in order to alleviate the tremendous problems which have been created for many applicants in my constituency, return the funding that has now been frozen?

3

> Hon. Flora MacDonald (Minister of Employment and Immigration): We have, through our annual budget, a plan whereby money will be spent over the balance of the year. Certainly the bulk of it will be spent during the times when unemployment is at its highest, that is, during the fall and winter months, and we want to make sure that some of the money is spent during that time.
>
> Ms. Pauline Jewett: Apparently the Minister wants to save up all the money so she can have a big blow in September.
>
> Hon. Flora MacDonald: Mr. Speaker, we try to keep on funding projects all the time. . . .
> (Hansard, 4 June 1986).

According to senior officials at RHQ, the Minister experienced two problems in attempting to operate the General Projects Option on a continuous intake basis.

First, "the government needed to be seen to be doing something about the deficit, to maintain their credibility with the private sector" (quote). These officials explained that the imposition of the freeze in March was aimed to address this problem.

Second, they contended that the Minister was under pressure from some Members of Parliament and others, to reserve large amounts of funds for the fall and winter months, so that those regions heavily affected by seasonal unemployment could be better served.

Both of these problems were viewed to limit the extent to which the Minister's original vision of flexible programming operating on a continuous-intake basis, could be realized. From analyzing the statements made by the Minister in the House of Commons, it appears that the Minister became increasingly aware of the implications of her vision. She was replaced as Minister of Employment and Immigration by the Hon. Benoit Bouchard, on 1 July 1986.

In September, RHQ personnel were informed by NHQ that solicitation for the fall round was to begin. The deadline for the submission of applications was set for 17 October.

### Contribution Schedule for Sponsors

The types and levels of CEIC contributions which sponsors may receive following a successful application, are presented in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1

Types and Levels of CEIC Contributions in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Contribution Type | Description |
|---|---|
| Wages | |
| Private Sector Sponsor | 60% of wages to a maximum of $350/week. |
| Non-Profit Sector Sponsor | 100% of wages to a maximum of $350/week. |
| Operating Costs | |
| Private Sector Sponsor | Not eligible |
| Non-Profit Sector Sponsor | Up to $125/week of the above $350 may be used to pay for: employer's share of mandatory employee benefits, utilities, transportation, materials, leasing of space and equipment. |
| Course Development Costs | |
| All Sponsors except Target Group | 75% of costs |

Continued . . .

| Contribution Type | Description |
|---|---|
| Target Group Sponsors | 100% reimbursement to target group sponsors, such as Native associations . . . etc., where the association does not have adequate financial resources. |
| Training Costs | |
| All Sponsors | Fees to public institutions and/or other organizations, as well as Other Training Costs which cover expenses of the sponsor as trainer. Total training cost may not exceed $40/day per participant. |
| Capital Costs | Allowed if necessary to the success of the project, maximum CEIC contribution is $5000 per project. |
| Facilities/Equipment for Disabled | Provision of facilities or equipment necessary to the recruitment of disabled persons to a maximum of $10000 per place of employment, in situations where the recruitment would not take place without these expenditures. |
| Workers' Compensation | |
| Private sector sponsors | 100% reimbursement of WCB assessment. |
| Non-profit sponsors | Blanket coverage at CEIC/WCB negotiated rate. |
| Project Manager Wages | Allowed if necessary to the success of the project, to a maximum of $500 per week per manager (provided only in exceptional cases, where it is impossible for existing staff to provide the necessary supervision). |

Source: Job Development: Guide to Applicants (CJS, WH3597).

### The Referral Process

Potential participants are referred by CEC employment counsellors, who "assess individual training or job experience needs" (CJS, WH3500:1). Assessments and referrals are carried out in consultation with the sponsor who usually identifies some prerequisite skills or qualities.

The referral process was usually successful. Only one of the 126 projects was withdrawn through lack of suitable referrals.

### Project Monitoring

On-site monitoring was carried out approximately once every two months to ensure that the sponsor was complying with the terms of the agreement. Interviews are conducted with the sponsor, the project manager and the trainees to determine how the training and work experience is progressing. As well, any financial claims made by the sponsor are assessed.

Once a claim is verified, the payment procedure is the same as that described for the Job Entry Program (Chapter 8).

## General Projects: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of sponsor. The type of sponsor by project frequency and percentage frequency is presented in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2

Type of Sponsor by Project Frequency and Percentage Frequency in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Type of Sponsor | Project Frequency (N = 108) | % Frequency |
|---|---|---|
| Non-profit Organization | 54 | 50 |
| Municipal Government | 33 | 30 |
| Private Sector | 13 | 12 |
| School Board | 2 | 2 |
| Other Federal Department | 1 | 1 |
| Other[1] | 5 | 5 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

[1] The category "Other" refers to projects where the type of sponsor was not identified, or could not be classified by any other category.

RHQ personnel indicated that these findings were not surprising since non-profit organizations and municipal governments (including Indian Band Councils) had most commonly worked with long-term unemployed persons under EIC programming prior to CJS.

Private sector involvement had been described as a key factor underlying the program's design and delivery. However RHQ personnel considered that efforts to attract more private sector sponsorship had been hindered, partly due to the increased emphasis on training away from the worksite (where no production could result).

Occupations for which training was undertaken. The percentage of individuals who undertook training for positions in each occupational category is given in Table 9.3. The occupational categories, "forestry" and "social sciences" had participant frequencies noticeably higher than other categories.

Through searching project files, I found that individuals training for positions in the forestry industry were sponsored by private sector employers in 5 of the 12 projects. Indian Band Councils and Metis Settlement Councils sponsored four projects while non-profit organizations sponsored the remaining three. The high proportion of private sector involvement in training in this occupational category, relative to other categories, may be explained through the emphasis on forestry industry involvement by the Minister. A policy circular sent from RHQ to CJS Units read:

> The Minister has made a commitment to establish forestry projects as quickly as possible. A working agreement has been established between CEIC and the Canadian Forestry Service (CFS) concerning the forestry sector participation. Forestry sector proposals will be jointly assessed by the CJS Unit and CFS.

In thirteen projects, 71 participants received training for positions in the "social sciences" occupational category. Employment in this category most often referred to positions such as addictions counsellors and family welfare workers. Ten of the 13 projects were sponsored by non-profit organizations. The remaining three projects were sponsored by Indian Band Councils.

The variety of remaining occupational categories and their associated smaller numbers of projects and participants made any further patterns in the type of sponsor difficult to identify.

Table 9.3

Occupation for which Training was Undertaken by Participant Percentage Frequency in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Occupational Category | % Frequency (N = 642) |
|---|---|
| Forestry | 19 |
| Social Sciences | 17 |
| Construction | 12 |
| Managerial, Administrative | 10 |
| Clerical | 9 |
| Teaching | 8 |
| Processing | 6 |
| Other[1] | 19 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 10 November 1986.

[1] The category "Other" refers to occupational categories for which less than 5% of participants undertook training. The total participant percentage frequency for these categories was 19%.

Type of trainer and training. Sponsors acted as the sole trainers in 48 of the 126 projects. In all other projects, sponsors shared training responsibilities.

In 10 of the 12 forestry projects, sponsors were solely responsible for training.--From the descriptions in project files, it would seem that the on-site nature and associated geographical isolation of this type of training precluded the involvement of outside trainers.

Other types of training which were provided solely by the sponsor, related to the particular products and/or operations of the sponsoring organization.

The number of projects in which some training was provided by public institutions, other non-profit organizations and private trainers, and the type of training which was given by each is presented in Table 9.4.

The participation of public institutions as trainers in this option contrasted with other program elements, particularly those in which private sector employers were largely involved (Skill Shortages and Skill Investment). In this option, sponsors sought training assistance from public institutions for 64 of the 78 projects in which they shared training responsibility. Private trainers on the other hand were used in only 14 projects.

The role of the project officer. Monitoring reports and associated correspondence contained in project files indicated that training and work experience activities were progressing satisfactorily in all but five of the 126 projects. Problems in those five projects were eventually resolved, although in one case a project had to be placed on a 14-day probation.

## Table 9.4

## Type of Training Provided by Public Institutions, Other Non-Profit Organizations and Private Trainers, by Project Frequency in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Type of Training | Type of Trainer | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Public | Non-Profit | Private |
| Human Relations | 7 | | |
| Marketing | 6 | | 2 |
| Computer | 5 | | 4 |
| Carpentry | 5 | | |
| Social Sciences | 4 | 5 | |
| Library | 4 | | |
| Academic Upgrading | 3 | | |
| Arts Administration | 3 | | |
| Clerical | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Construction | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| Museum | 3 | 4 | |
| Life Skills | 2 | | 2 |
| Sewing | 2 | | |
| Theatre | 2 | | |
| First Aid | | 6 | |
| Teacher Aide | | 2 | |
| Other[1] | 12 | 5 | 2 |
| Total | 64 | 27 | 14 |

Source: Project Files

[1] The category "Other" refers to types of training with a project frequency equal to 1.

I regarded references by project officers to training practices which contravened the terms of the agreement as evidence of a problem. These examples have been taken from project files:

> Instructor/student ratio often exceeds safe standards and individuals used to keep ratio acceptable are not properly certified.
>
> Employees were told to "keep fit on EIC time" and put it on the sheets as hours worked. [The sponsor] argued the point but I left him little choice. Employees are not to be paid for exercising.
>
> [Another project officer] and I were quite concerned about two project workers who were working as Job Entry supervisors as these two Job Development participants were also trainees. It's like the blind leading the blind. . . .
>
> I approached [the sponsor]. I asked for a training schedule. He said this could not be done. I explained I needed this because the workers didn't seem to know anything about the training. He assured me they were told. At this point [the sponsor] was getting angry, which only frustrated me more. . . .

In one project, the need for secrecy over production techniques drew an unusual response from one sponsor. In order to maintain a competitive advantage, this sponsor would not allow the project officer to interview participants without one of his regular employees being present. Further, he stated that his company would not facilitate any further contact of EIC with the trainees, once the project was completed. These and other factors led to the project being put on probation. In a letter of protest, the sponsor wrote:

> The demand in your letter [to interview trainees] is a typical example of government interrogation techniques used in Russia. Requiring up to 4 hours of confidental interrogation of these immigrants for periods of up to 6 years is totally unacceptable.

> Interrogation of these simple Vietnamese immigrants puts the fear of all the horrible atrocities back in their minds. Are you trying to mimic or outdo the Khmer Rouge?

While these examples were not typical of the general project performance, they nevertheless represented circumstances with which project officers and other EIC personnel must be prepared to deal. RHQ and CJS Unit personnel considered that these few Job Development projects required a disproportionate amount of time, as well as delicate negotiation.

## Employment Opportunities

Since 108 of the 126 projects whose files were searched, were active during the monitoring period, little information was available as to whether the sponsors had continued to employ the participants upon project completion.

References in monitoring reports relating to ongoing employment potential were generally positive. However I was unable to ascertain the extent to which this potential would be realized.

## Equality of Participation

Participant characteristics. Details were gathered relating to the interest groups served in each project. Interest groups were defined as "groups that have a special interest in, or which may particularly benefit from the projects" (policy circular extract). These details are presented in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5

Interest Group Served by Project Frequency in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Interest Group | Frequency (N = 108) |
|---|---|
| Natives | 36 |
| Women | 8 |
| Disabled | 7 |
| Visible Minorities | 7 |
| Youth | 7 |
| Other | 43 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

Sixty-five of the 108 projects (60%) were designed to benefit groups who had been identified in CJS policies as requiring special assistance to participate in the labour market.

Age and education level characteristics by male and female, and total participant percentage ~~frequency~~ are presented in Table 9.6.

The majority of the participants (55%) were aged between 25 and 45 years. The most common education level range was grade 11 - 12. Noticeable differences are shown in education level characteristics between males and females. Sixty-nine percent of females had attained an education level of grade 11 or higher, whereas 57% of males had not completed grade 11.

Table 9.6

Participant Characteristics
by Male, Female and Total Percentage Frequency
in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Participant Characteristic | % Frequency | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male (N = 347) | Female (N = 295) | Total (N = 642) |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 8 | 4 | 6 |
| 20 - 24 | 29 | 23 | 26 |
| 25 - 45 | 52 | 57 | 55 |
| 45 + | 11 | 16 | 13 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 27 | 13 | 20 |
| 09 - 10 | 30 | 18 | 24 |
| 11 - 12 | 34 | 52 | 43 |
| Postsecondary | 9 | 17 | 13 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 10 November 1986.

Responses to "the 24 out of 30 weeks" eligibility criterion. The requirement that participants have been unemployed for 24 out of the last 30 weeks, was a concern to RHQ personnel, sponsors, Opposition Members of Parliament, and business representatives.

In a memorandum to the Deputy Minister, the Regional Director General wrote:

> Difficulties are anticipated with the "24 out of 30 week" requirement. This criterion penalizes individuals who, while able to demonstrate great difficulty in accessing employment, have obtained short term work recently (6+ weeks). [Also]

> immigrants/refugees must experience 24/30 weeks unemployment prior to becoming eligible. In some cases, this results in clients staying on Adjustment Assistance while they wait out the "mandatory failure period."

A similar concern was expressed in a memorandum from RHQ personnel to a CJS Unit Manager:

> The present rule can unfairly exclude Natives and others engaged in seasonal employment, women trapped in low-paying "job ghettos", and recently laid-off older workers.

Another difficulty, cited by RHQ personnel, was the possible effect that the criterion was having upon encouraging private sector participation. This was described in a memorandum to the Regional Manager of the Job Development Program, from the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option, as follows:

> Private Sector participation is very low. This may be due to the employers' perception of who they must hire (i.e., unemployed 24/30 weeks, and target group members).

An example of the experience of one private sector sponsor who was critical of the 24/30 week criterion was described by a project officer in a monitoring report, as follows:

> To date 30 referral slips have been given out with only 10 referrals showing up to be interviewed. [The sponsor] feels that perhaps 4 out of the 10 may be hired. He has requested that we relax the 24/30 week criterion in order to allow potential employees who are currently under employed to work on the project.

Opposition Members of Parliament also criticized the criterion. Mr. Baker (Gander-Twillingate) remonstrated:

> The Minister should look at the hiring criteria. In order to get a referral for one of her famed Job Development projects, you must have been unemployed

> for 24 out of the previous 30 weeks. Here we go again. We are going to have an affirmative action program here, there, and somewhere else, and in the process the majority of the people are disqualified.
>
> The most discriminatory program ever announced by the federal government, was announced by this Minister (Hansard, 3 March 1986).

Several business representatives, at the Making Canada Productive conference (see Chapter 5 for detailed reference) felt that the emphasis on those most in need was misplaced. Some examples of comments made during a forum session were:

> There was unanimous agreement at the First Minister's Conference [Regina, February 1985] for economic development. This now appears least important (Canadian Association of Small Business representative).
>
> There seems to be more targeting without an overall development perspective. Where's the economic basis? The social emphasis won't pay off (Canadian Federation of Independent Business representative).

The Director of Employment and Insurance responded to these remarks in stating:

> Sharper targeting is needed in times of fiscal restraint. This has meant the requirement to say no occasionally, and this may not have increased our popularity.

At the conclusion of the monitoring period, the 24/30 week criterion remained in place.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Cost-sharing arrangements. Sponsor costs and CEIC contributions by selected types of expenditure are presented in Table 9.7.

The percentage wage cost reimbursement reflected the 100% reimbursement rate available to municipalities and non-profit organizations who represented approximately 80% of the sponsors.

The percentage training cost reimbursement indicated the total training costs were approximately $40 per day per participant. Amounts in excess of $40 were not reimbursed.

Table 9.7

Type of Expenditure
by Sponsor Cost, CEIC Contribution and % Reimbursement
in Job Development: General Projects Option

| Type of Expenditure | Sponsor Cost ($) | CEIC Contribution ($) | % Reimbursement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Client Wages | 5610546 | 5187250 | 93 |
| Fees | | | |
| to Public Institutions | 359110 | 300857 | 84 |
| to Other Organizations | 288556 | 268950 | 93 |
| Other Training Delivery Costs | 361592 | 352122 | 97 |
| Capital Costs | 623316 | 119121 | 19 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

Private sector participation. One reason cited by several RHQ personnel for the low level of private sector participation was the level of financial burden these sponsors were required to bear while the project participants were engaged in training. This reason was explained in a memorandum to a CJS Unit Manager by the Regional Chief of the

General Projects Option as follows:

> The program is designed in such a way that there is very little incentive for private sector participation. We expect an employer to hire an individual who has been unemployed for 24 out of 30 weeks, and send this person to a provincial institution for training, and then provide them with on the job training. During the entire process including training time the employer is expected to pay 40% of the client's wages. There is no guarantee that the employee will ever come to work for the employer. Changes should be made, so that the employer pays no wages during training time, or at least a reduced amount.

Another reason for the lack of private sector participation related to the fluctuating availability of funding. RHQ personnel commented that the imposition of deadlines and short periods of high activity did not encourage private sector sponsorship. They contended that businessmen require access to programming as their needs arise, and are discouraged by having to apply within strict time frames.

Continuous intake versus deadline dates. The imposition of deadlines for the submission of applications caused a number of problems in program delivery. Some of these problems were referred to in a memorandum to a CJS Unit Manager, from the Regional Chief of the General Projects Option, as follows:

> With the complexity of the program and the average size of projects being relatively large ($80,000), it is very difficult to start and stop solicitation of projects. A significant number of applications which were received early in the Spring were sent letters informing them that we could not process their application until September. This has created problems with employers' timeframes, and many of them are no longer interested. With an October

> deadline date we are faced with the potential of having a massive amount of carryover, and a significant slippage [lapsed fund] problem. This situation certainly would have been minimized if activity had not been stopped during the summer months.

The difficulties resulting from these funding arrangements were explained by several RHQ staff members. First, with a large amount of carryover of funds into the next fiscal year, there is less money available for new activity. This situation results in new activity being postponed until later in the year, and therefore perpetuates the cycle.

Second, in "trying to drum up business for short-term projects" (quote), carryover may be lessened but approval criteria are eased as well.

Third, if an insufficient number of proposals are solicited, then slippage results. In this situation, the Minister is likely to receive criticism for lapsed funds (as occurred early in the 1985/86 fiscal year), and the Region may receive negative feedback from NHQ.

In summary, a senior official at RHQ suggested the funding restrictions inhibiting program delivery on a continuous-intake basis "may have virtually destroyed the possibility of the program reaching its objective."

# Individually Subsidized Jobs: Policy Inputs and Processes

## Option Design

The Individually Subsidized Jobs Option is designed to meet the objective of the Job Development Program through subsidizing employers for individual job placements.

Persons referred to an individually subsidized job must in addition to having been 24 out of the last 30 weeks unemployed, have a "social or cultural barrier to employment" (EA 45.28,1). These individuals are considered to be more appropriately served by an individual placement with an employer, rather than through a project format.

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals.

This program element is delivered by employment counsellors in Canada Employment ~~Centres~~ (CECs). From interviews with these individuals, and staff at RHQ who had been employment counsellors, I gained the following understanding of the proposal development and evaluation process.

The process is initiated by an employment counsellor marketing an eligible client, or by an employer seeking someone to fill a vacancy. Usually the latter occurs more frequently. The employer completes a training plan. The employment counsellor checks the availability of funds. Then negotiations take place concerning the proposed training, an appropriate wage level, and the opportunity for continuing employment. A less detailed assessment of the training plan is undertaken than in the General Projects Option. EIC personnel reasoned that this was appropriate, since most of the training was for "entry level" positions. One RHQ staff member expressed this view as follows:

> One needs to consider the utility of developing a 75 page proposal for training dishwashers.

The proposal is evaluated, and approval authority rests at the CEC level. Potential employees are then referred by an employment counsellor.

## Contribution Schedule for Employers

A distinguishing feature of the contribution schedule in this option is that wage reimbursement levels occur in phases (EA 45.33,1), as follows:

Phase 1: up to 13 weeks during which the subsidy payable may be up to 80% of the client's gross wages.

Phase 2: up to 26 weeks during which the subsidy payable may be up to 50% of the client's gross wages.

Phase 3: up to 13 weeks during which the subsidy payable may be up to 25% of the client's gross wages.

RHQ personnel explained that these phases are designed "to wean the employer off the contract". They considered that this was a sensible approach for two reasons. First, since it allowed a gradual decrease rather than an abrupt termination, the employer may experience less financial change at project completion and therefore be less inclined to terminate the participant's employment. Second, the employer receives a higher reimbursement in the early stages of the project when the employee may be least productive.

Other types and levels of contributions available to employers are the same as those in the General Projects Option (see Table 9.1).

### Project Monitoring and Payment of Claims

Usually two monitoring visits are made by CEC personnel. The first occurs after the first claim is received, and prior to the payment of that claim. The second visit is made prior to the final payment. Interim monitoring visits would only occur if problems arise.

Generally the employer sends in a claim each month. The CEC Manager authorizes the claim, and sends it to Supply and Services Canada, who forward the cheque.

## Individually Subsidized Jobs: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of employer. The number of projects (or individually subsidized jobs) associated with each type of employer is presented in Table 9.8. The majority (95%) of these jobs were with private sector employers.

Type of training. The number of participants whose wages were subsidized in each occupational category is presented in Table 9.9. Accompanying each category are the training titles, which appeared most frequently.

Table 9.8

Type of Employer
by Project Frequency and Percentage Frequency
in Job Development: Individually Subsidized Jobs

| Type of Employer | Frequency (N = 1294) | % |
|---|---|---|
| Private Sector | 1227 | 95 |
| Non-Profit Organization | 38 | 3 |
| Municipal Government | 15 | 1 |
| School Board | 9 | - |
| Other[1] | 5 | - |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

[1] The category "Other" refers to projects where the type of sponsor was not identified.

Table 9.9

Occupational Category Subsidized
Accompanied by Most Frequent Training Titles
by Participant Frequency in Job Development:
Individually Subsidized Jobs

| Occupational Category | Most Frequent Training Titles | Frequency (N = 1186) |
|---|---|---|
| Service | kitchen helper, janitor, daycare worker | 262 |
| Product Fabricating, Assembling, Repairing | seamstress, auto mechanic | 247 |
| Clerical | general office clerk, receptionist, secretary | 148 |

Continued . . .

| Occupational Category | Most Frequent Training Titles | Frequency (N = 1186) |
|---|---|---|
| Construction | carpenter helper, labourer, plumber's assistant | 73 |
| Sales | sales clerk, parts clerk | 61 |
| Machining | welder's helper, machine shop helper | 60 |
| Processing | baker helper, meat cutter | 52 |
| Material Handling | warehouse worker, packaging machine operator | 37 |
| Managerial, Administrative | administrative assistant, manager trainee | 35 |
| Natural Sciences, Engineering | laboratory technician, research assistant | 33 |
| Teaching | instructional aide, daycare aide | 22 |
| Farming, Horticultural | landscape gardener, farm worker | 22 |
| Other Crafts and Equipment Operating | bindery worker, press operator | 22 |
| Social Sciences | addictions counsellor, family resource person | 17 |
| Artistic, Literary Performing Arts | floral arranger, production assistant | 16 |
| Transport Equipment Operator | truck driver, despatcher | 14 |
| Medicine and Health | dental assistant, first aid attendant | 12 |
| Unclassified | mechanic's helper | 8 |
| Other[1] | | 45 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 21 November 1986.

[1] The category "Other" refers to participants whose occupations were not identified.

Service, production fabricating, assembling and repairing, and clerical occupational categories accounted for 55% of participants.

CEC personnel contended that training in this option was better suited to on-site methods than classroom settings. The number of training titles which included the terms, "helper" or "assistant", would suggest that instruction through observation and guided practice at the production site was a common training method.

## Employment Opportunities

RHQ personnel considered that most positions provided the appropriate "entry level" training to re-establish long-term unemployed individuals within the labour force.

However, they also recognized that in making a referral the employment counsellor is asking the employer to "take a chance", since the referred individual had experienced difficulty in obtaining or maintaining employment due to some social or cultural barrier. RHQ personnel considered that it was important in these circumstances, that additional demands upon the employer (such as off-site training requirements) should be limited if the project was to be successfully concluded, and employer interest maintained.

## Equality of Participation

Age and education level characteristics by male, female and total participant percentage frequency are presented in Table 9.10.

Table 9.10

Participant Characteristics
by Male, Female and Total % Frequency
in Job Development: Individually Subsidized Jobs

| Participant Characteristics | % Frequency | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male (N = 860) | Female (N = 443) | Total (N = 1303) |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| 20 - 24 | 25 | 18 | 22 |
| 25 - 45 | 60 | 62 | 60 |
| 45 + | 9 | 12 | 11 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 20 | 18 | 19 |
| 09 - 10 | 27 | 19 | 24 |
| 11 - 12 | 41 | 53 | 46 |
| Postsecondary | 12 | 10 | 11 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 10 November 1986.

The majority of participants (60%) were aged between 25 and 45 years. The most common educational level range was grade 11 - 12.

The participant characteristics in this option were similar to those found for the General Projects Option (see Table 9.6), although the educational level characteristic differences between male and female participants were less pronounced.

## Equity of the Financial Burden

Cost-sharing arrangements. Employer costs and CEIC contributions by selected types of expenditure are presented in Table 9.11.

Table 9.11

Type of Expenditure
by Employer Cost, CEIC Contribution and % Reimbursement
in Job Development: Individually Subsidized Jobs

| Type of Expenditure | Employer Cost ($) | CEIC Contribution ($) | % Reimbursement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Client Wages | 9300626 | 4501931 | 48 |
| Fee to | | | |
| Public Insitutions | 14578 | 10712 | 74 |
| Other Organizations | 280 | 280 | 100 |
| Other Training Delivery Costs | 56329 | 56329 | 100 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

The percentage wage reimbursement for this option (48%) was considerably lower than for the General Projects Option (93%, see Table 9.7). The percentage reimbursements and the duration of various phases, and the finding that the majority of employers (95%) were from the private sector (rather than non-profit organizations) may be offered as reasons for this difference.

Another feature was the large variation between wage and training expenditures. Only $71187 was spent by employers on training, whereas $9300626 was the total amount paid in wages. Therefore less than 1% of the project cost was directly attributable to training expenditure.

Method of training. The method of training in the Individually Subsidized Jobs Option received continued attention. The EIC Employment Manual contains this reference:

> training may be in-house training or training to be purchased by the employer from a public training institution or other organization (EA 45.33,3a).

However through interviews with CEC personnel and staff at RHQ, I was informed that virtually all training in this program element was conducted through on-the-job methods. This information is corroborated by findings relating to the types of training undertaken, and training expenditure.

These newspaper reports gave further support to the prevalence of on-the-job methods, but reflected some concerns relating to the use of program funding:

> Ms. Cohen [a non-profit organization representative] said the current program provides little more than wage subsidies for employers. Trainees do much of their training in the workplace, she said, and the program simply pays for part of their wages while they are on the job
> (Globe and Mail, 27 February 1986, p A10).

and

> Much of the Opposition criticism, and the complaints of non-profit organizations, have centred on the fact that the Government is giving some of the job-creation money to private companies in the form of wage subsidies. . . .One of the [EIC] memos leaked to Mr. Nunziata [an Opposition Member of Parliament]

> expressed concern that the training to be provided in private sector jobs must be given greater stress, "if they are not to become just a wage subsidy" (Globe and Mail, 14 June 1986, p A4).

The manner in which training was being carried out, and the way in which funds were spent to support that training, was a continuing concern to EIC personnel. A memorandum from the Executive Director of CJS to the Regional Director General reads:

> A review of MIS data [from EIC management information systems] has brought to light a disturbing statistic. In the fiscal year 1985-86, the CEIC contribution towards training costs constituted only 2.9 percent of the total CEIC contribution on all Job Development: Individually Subsidized Jobs Option agreements. To date, in fiscal year 1986-87, this figure has dropped to just 0.9 percent. Unlike previous wage subside programs, all Job Development agreements including those for the Individually Subsidized Jobs Option must include a combination of training and work experience. With only 0.9 percent of the CEIC contributions going to training costs, it could be assumed that most of these agreements do not include a significant training element. I would ask that you request all staff to emphasize to employers the importance of including a strong training component. . . .

The concern expressed by the Executive Director is that, due to the low level of CEIC contributions to training costs, little training may be taking place. A reply to this memorandum, from the Regional Manager of the Job Development Program to the Regional Director General, reads:

> However, these statistics do not indicate the on-the-job training component. . . .To suggest that on-the-job training is not significant in terms of benefit to the trainee would be incorrect.

An accompanying view, expressed by some RHQ personnel, was that this option was a simple and cost effective program element. They suggested that if more emphasis were put on off-site training, then CEIC costs would rise considerably and the program would become more complex. They also predicted that it would be harder to market to private sector employers. They explained that off-site training necessarily removes the employee from the production site, while the employer is still required to pay a portion of the wages.

The evidence from the newspaper reports and memoranda, and from interviews suggest that non-profit organizations and Members of the Opposition were critical of the manner in which funding was allocated to the private sector. Second, the Executive Director at NHQ wished to be able to show that training was taking place. Third, personnel responsible for operating the program wished to ensure that the delivery process remained simple and cost effective, and did not alienate the private sector.

The government appears to have been faced with a dilemma of having to satisfy demands that training is taking place, while maintaining an emphasis on private sector involvement.

## Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged: Policy Inputs and Processes

### Option Design

Participant characteristics and option objective. The participants in this option are described as severely employment-disadvantaged, a term used to define

> those who have had problematic work habits, attitude and motivation problems or who have a serious lack of education/training, prolonged period of institutionalization, functional illiteracy, or a long history of drug or alcohol abuse (EA 45.27,2).

The objective of this program element is to assist these individuals through "employment on projects involving linkages with community resources and support services" (EA 45.02,2b). The projects are designed to make severely employment-disadvantaged persons "ready for employment by building more positive attitudes and life skills" (EA 45.02,2b).

The role of the sponsor. The role of the sponsor in this option is the same as for the General Projects Option.

The nature of training. The characteristics of the participants necessitate that training focus on the development of communication and socialization or life skills, as well as occupational skills. In relation to life skills training, the Regional Chief of the option stated that "the participants needed to be taught the rules of the game . . . the basics, and how to express themselves." She explained that many participants may not have worked before, while others such as ex-inmates needed to learn how to do routine work, how to accept authority and in many cases, how to develop a different peer group.

Occupational skills training was described by RHQ personnel to focus solely on entry level positions. In order to aid in the transition to the work setting, work experience activities are incorporated.

As a consequence of the participants' characteristics, "project activities may be permitted to operate up to 36 months" (EA 45,App.A).

## The Development and Evaluation of Proposals

Process synopsis. The procedures followed in developing and evaluating proposals are similar to those used in the General Projects Option. The role of the project officer, the nature of the consultations, the involvement of local Members of Parliament, the regional review process, and approval authority are the same. However since the volume of activity is lower, and the duration of projects longer (up to 3 years), this option operates mostly on the basis of continuous intake, rather than on deadlines and periods of high activity characteristic of the General Projects Option. Another difference is that the potential sponsor has the opportunity to make a short presentation at the regional review board meeting.

Skill Acquisition. An important factor in assessing proposals was described by the Regional Chief of this option to be that, life skills and occupational training acquired in a classroom setting should be readily applicable to the worksite.

The ways in which this factor was addressed are shown by these examples taken from summaries of review board meetings:

> The participants' training program will consist of a rotation through work skill training, automotive theory instruction, personal development instruction, and work placement. The participants will be able to transfer their theoretical knowledge to more specific and realistic work settings.
>
> Participants receive employment readiness training at project site. Specific skill training is provided on work experience placements with community based employers.
>
> All assessment and training activities will occur on-site at the employer's premises. Career counselling, job readiness training, and communication skills, as well as specific skill training will occur on a one-to-one level at the actual work-site.
>
> Employment readiness training will be conducted on-site by project staff. Specific skill training in computer literacy will be purchased from an external source. Specific skill training in the client's areas of vocational interests will occur through placement in work experience.

The variety of possible training formats is shown by the previous examples.

In making applications, sponsors were encouraged to purchase training from public institutions wherever possible. The expectations relating to such purchases were reserved, as shown by the following review board minutes:

> [one review board member] explained that these projects needed a longer time to incorporate institutional training in their project activities because project staff, qualified to offer the training, had been doing so for an extended period of time.

Employment Opportunities. The work experience component was viewed as an important link in fostering participants' employment opportunities. Some of the purposes of work experience activities were described, on "recommendation for approval" forms as follows:

> Up to 4 weeks of work experience will be provided to introduce participants to the expectations of an actual employer.
>
> Work experience will be used to test the suitability of clients' career choices.

In reviewing proposals, RHQ personnel considered that the following objectives relating to the potential for ongoing employment were appropriate. These examples have been taken from the minutes of review board meetings:

> To serve a total of 30 clients, of these to place 60% into competitive employment and 10% into further skill training.
>
> To admit 36 participants, to graduate 27 of these, and to place 22 of the 27 graduates into the competitive labour force or into further skill upgrading.
>
> It is their objective to place 60% of their trainees.
>
> The project has achieved a 68% placement rate overall; they propose 70% for year 2. They have established a good employer rapport.
>
> When possible, employers will be encouraged to hire work experience trainees.

RHQ personnel indicated that in view of the participant characteristics, these expectations for ongoing employment were modest but realistic.

Equality of Participation. RHQ personnel indicated that a significant number of sponsors had been previously involved with CEIC in this type of programming, and had the structure and knowledge to attract and serve severely employment-disadvantaged participants.

However with the emphasis on target group participation under CJS, these sponsors were encouraged by review board members to develop ways of increasing such participation. These comments by RHQ personnel were recorded in the minutes of review board meetings:

> [A review board member] stated that disabled Natives are not likely to go to traditional referral sources, such as the CEC, so that extra effort is required to reach them.
>
> To increase the number of employment options open to persons with disabilities, [the sponsor] has decided to carry out an active public relations campaign directed at both participants and employers.
>
> [The sponsor] has agreed to make and maintain contact with appropriate native referral agencies with the intent of increasing the number of native participants.

Equity of the Financial Burden. As sponsors were most typically community-based, non-profit organizations, RHQ personnel explained that matters dealing with incrementality rarely arose. However, on some occasions, individual aspects of the CEIC contribution request would be reviewed; for example the wages paid to project staff, or capital expenditure items.

### Contribution Schedule for Sponsors

The types and levels of CEIC contributions for which sponsors are eligible are generally the same as those for the General Projects Option (see Table 9.1). The only difference is that the contributions for the reimbursement of consultant fees are available for Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged.

### Referral, Monitoring, and the Payment of Claims

Processes dealing with client referral, project monitoring, and the submission and payment of claims are the same as those for the General Projects Option.

## Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged: Policy Outcomes

### Skill Acquisition

Type of sponsor. Fifteen projects had been approved. Non-profit organizations sponsored the 13 projects, whose files were searched. Two project files were not at RHQ during the monitoring period, and were not examined.

Twelve of the 13 projects were operational. The remaining project was completing the developmental (or planning) phase and contained no participants.

Type of trainer and training. In all the projects which were operational, life skills training was given by the sponsor. Two projects used additional trainers, one used a public institution, the other a private consultant.

The life skills training component was described in training plans in various ways, but most commonly referred to

> improving self-concept, assessing self needs, techniques for handling stress and responding to criticism, goal setting, problem-solving, grooming, interview skills, job search techniques, constructive use of leisure time, and budgeting. (Source: training plans in project files)

In eight projects, the type of occupational skills training varied with the interests and needs of the participants. In three projects, all participants were trained in carpentry. In one project, all participants were given instruction in automotive repair.

Occupational skill training in six projects took place totally at the work experience site, under the direction of the host employer. Training at the work experience sites was monitored by project staff. In five projects, occupational skill training was given by the sponsor, in cooperation with host employers and public institutions. Instruction was provided by public institutions in carpentry (two projects), academic upgrading (two projects) and computer skills (one project). Occupational skill training in the remaining project was given by the sponsor and the host employer.

Response to the off-site training emphasis. The increased emphasis on off-site occupational skill training was described in CJS promotional material (CJS, WH3494), and reinforced by the Minister's action over the indirect purchase issue (see Chapter 5). This emphasis was criticized by one sponsor in commenting that:

> The introduction of a training mandate (other than on-the-job training) represents a change in focus for the program, requiring us to concentrate energy towards an area which we have not intended to emphasize in the past. Naturally, this would require us to deemphasize our central purpose of providing placement services.

This sponsor appears to view off-site training as complicating project objectives. He later inferred that such training was the responsibility of sponsors to either provide or arrange, in stating:

> Participants who wish to further their education are encouraged to seek funding and apply for services in the same way as you and I would.

Another sponsor identified off-site training as a problem in stating that:

> We cannot identify at this time, the type of skill training to contract with an educational institution, as this will be based on individual and/or group need. Cost/benefit wise, it would appear to be more practical to look at a program based on a group need . . . .

The sponsor continued by outlining the diversity of occupational interests and needs of the participants, and the corresponding difficulty in establishing a common occupational focus.

The appropriateness of using public educational institutions as offsite trainers was questioned by one sponsor. A project officer reported:

> I discussed the issue of purchasing [training] from approved public educational institutions. [The sponsor] felt that they were the authorities in this field, and that public institutions may not be able to provide the training required by this target group.

A report to a project sponsor, from the instructor of a computer course given at a public institution, presented a more positive view:

> The majority of students were so enthusiastic about programming, they worked past the end of the class on their own. I think the course served to remove fears about computers. . . .They saw adult education was more open and the emphasis was on them to be responsible. . . .[However] I would ask you to consider increasing the course length to give us the chance to develop these students even further. . . . I look forward to working with you and your students in the future.

These three excerpts demonstrate the varied response to the increased emphasis on off-site occupational skill training.

Despite the emphasis on off-site occupational training, on-the-job training remained the more common method of instruction. One sponsor wrote:

> I think one of the strong features of our program is that we will be doing on-the-job training and have professional people in the field, on the job, to help with the education of the handicapped worker.

Occupations for which training was undertaken. The type of occupation for which participants were given instruction, by the participant frequency is presented in Table 9.12. Accompanying each occupational category are the training titles which appeared most frequently.

The most common occupational category was "Project Participant". ~~RHQ~~ personnel contended that this category was probably entered where it was felt that pre-employment skills, rather than occupational skills, were the central focus. This contention is supported by this sponsor's statement:

> We're not training cabinet makers. The woodworking is something practical we can draw upon to talk about working with people, getting here on time, and so on (Edmonton Journal: 17 September 1986).

Table 9.12

Occupation for which Training was Undertaken, Accompanied by Most Frequent Training Title by Participant Frequency in Job Development: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged

| Occupational Category | Most Frequent Training Title | Frequency (N = 195) |
|---|---|---|
| Project Participant | preparation for employment | 110 |
| Construction | carpentry | 39 |
| Product Fabricating, Assembly, Repairing | production worker | 13 |
| Clerical | computer operator | 9 |
| Material Handling | warehouse worker | 7 |
| Service | kitchen helper | 5 |
| Sales | retail sales clerk | 3 |
| Other[1] | - | 9 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 21 November 1986.

[1] The category "Other" refers to occupational categories in which less than 3 participants received training.

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Employment Opportunities

As all projects which were monitored, had not been completed, no information on resultant placement rates was available. However, the problems associated with fostering unemployment opportunities for these severely employment-disadvantaged participants, were evident from correspondence in the project files. These excerpts from memoranda between RHQ and CJS personnel, relate to some difficulties which sponsors encountered:

> Their biggest problem seems to be the participants' lack of ability to maintain employment. Three of the participants were through 4 or 5 jobs.
>
> [In response to an advertisement campaign], the reaction they got from the community was negative. Employers felt they couldn't handle the type of trainees in the program ("severely employment-disadvantaged means mentally retarded, doesn't it?), and parents didn't want their children associating with ex-inmates. These preconceived notions were making the program difficult to sell to potential worksites.

Despite these problems, there appeared to be an adequate number of work experience sites. However it was difficult to predict the extent to which the experiences at these work-sites would foster the participants' employment opportunities.

## Equality of Participation

Details about the interest groups served by various projects are presented in Table 9 13.

There was a strong focus upon the groups identified in CJS policy documents as requiring special assistance to enter or re-enter the labour force. Thirteen of the 15 projects were directed toward providing those groups with assistance.

Table 9.13

Interest Group Served by Project Frequency in Job Development: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged

| Interest Group[1] | Frequency (N = 15) |
|---|---|
| Disabled | 6 |
| Youth | 4 |
| Natives | 2 |
| Women | 1 |
| None of the above | 2 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

[1] Interest groups are defined as "groups that have a special interest in, or which may particularly benefit from the project" (policy circular extract).

Age and education level characteristics by male, female and total percentage frequency are presented in Table 9.14.

The majority of participants (63%) were less than 25 years old. Approximately 70% of participants were male. Seventy-five percent of participants had not attained a grade 11 education level.

Table 9.14

Participant Characteristics By Male, Female and Total Percentage Frequency in Job Development: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged

| Participant Characteristic | % Frequency | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Male (N = 177) | Female (N = 74) | Total (N = 251) |
| Age | | | |
| < 20 | 33 | 42 | 35 |
| 20 - 24 | 28 | 27 | 28 |
| 25 - 44 | 35 | 24 | 32 |
| 45 + | 4 | 7 | 5 |
| Education Level | | | |
| 08 | 13 | 14 | 15 |
| 09 - 10 | 57 | 58 | 60 |
| 11 - 12 | 28 | 26 | 3 |
| Postsecondary | 2 | 2 | 3 |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 10 November 1986.

Equity of the Financial Burden

Sponsor costs and CEIC contributions by selected types of expenditure are presented in Table 9.15.

The generally high rate of reimbursement was explained by RHQ personnel to result from the high proportion of non-profit organization sponsors and the emphasis upon assisting severely disadvantaged groups. The emphasis on assisting severely disadvantaged groups was evident by the level of reimbursement for capital costs in this option (93%), compared with the level for the General Projects Option (19%).

Table 9.15

Type of Expenditure
by Sponsor Cost, CEIC Contribution and % Reimbursement
in Job Development:
Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged

| Type of Expenditure | Sponsor Cost ($) | CEIC Contribution ($) | % Reimbursement |
|---|---|---|---|
| Client Wages | 1504120 | 1203602 | 80 |
| Capital Costs | 126139 | 124003 | 98 |
| Fees to | | | |
| Public Institutions | 53000 | 53000 | 100 |
| Other Organizations | 20350 | 20350 | 100 |
| Other Training Delivery Costs | 0 | 0 | - |

Source: Automated Information Systems of EIC, Search Date 7 November 1986.

RHQ personnel explained that as a consequence of the nature of the program and the type of participants, the cost per trainee was usually higher in this option than other CJS program elements. From the information in Tables 9.15 and 9.14, the average CEIC cost per participant, accrued over a seven month period, was approximately $5500. Further, most projects operate for at least two years.

An argument in defence of these high costs was made by a project staff member from a sponsoring organization which serves ex-inmates. He was reported as stating:

> The program is expensive, nearly $15000 per worker, but it costs $42000 a year to keep a guy in jail (Edmonton Journal, 17 September 1986).

## Interpretations

### Historical Context

The Job Development Program displays two features of recurrent education policy addressed by OECD (1975). First, the instruction given to program participants is aimed to develop employment potential. Second, participation is viewed as a means of equalizing opportunity.

The program criteria reflect the contentions of Houghton and Richardson (1974) that recurrent education policy should focus more specifically on those who are particularly disadvantaged in relation to recurrent education opportunities.

Individually Subsidized Jobs may be criticized by Houghton and Richardson (1974) and Duke (1982) for suggested overemphasis upon occupational skill training, at the expense of providing instruction in basic skills. The education level characteristics, particularly of male participants, may be suggested as evidence that more attention be paid to basic skills, including academic upgrading.

These criticisms may not be levelled at the Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged. The nature of training in this option closely resembles Kallen's (1979) understanding of early forms of recurrent education. These forms were largely replicas of youth education with disadvantaged adults receiving priority.

## Motives

The primary motive may be to reduce inequality. Levin and Schutze (1983) explain that this motive involves considering those most susceptible to unemployment as primary targets. The eligibility criteria reflect an extension of this consideration to include those who are chronically unemployed.

## Obstacles to Participation

Timmermann (1983) proposes that social background factors such as level of education and employment history bear upon an individual's opportunity to participate in recurrent education. The eligibility criteria, through focussing upon those who are considered employment-ready but lacking in job opportunities to those who are classified as severely employment-disadvantaged, are aimed at overcoming those obstacles arising from social background.

## Equity Principles

Thomas' (1980) definition of vertical equity relates most closely to eligibility criteria of the Job Development Program. The requirement that individuals be unemployed for 24 of the last 30 weeks is an example of special treatment given to those experiencing social, economic or education deprivation. Vertical equity characteristics are also evident in the findings relating to the interest groups served through the General Projects Option and Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged. The majority of projects in each of these options were categorized as serving the needs of groups designated as requiring special assistance.

The provision of such assistance was particularly evident in the level and extent of reimbursement of capital costs in Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged. These allocations may be viewed as examples of McMahon's (1982) proportionality form of vertical equity.

Further evidence of proportionality is the difference in the contribution schedules of private sector and non-profit organization sponsors. The assumption underlying this difference may be that private sector sponsors have greater financial means, and are therefore in less need of government assistance than non-profit organizations.

## Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

### Funding availability and the imposition of deadlines.

The General Projects Option was described to be severely affected by fluctuating funding availability and the subsequent imposition of deadlines for the submission of applications. These circumstances were considered to cause concerns in relation to policy implementation. Smith's (1973) model is a means of interpreting these concerns.

The implementing organization (EIC) may be viewed as interacting with an idealized policy subject to intermittent stimuli caused by environmental factors. These stimuli include Ministerial actions relating to funding availability and proposal solicitation and approval. General economic conditions and the actions of Members of the Opposition and other groups, may be considered as the environmental factors, which brought about those Ministerial actions. The Minister's actions resulted in tensions relating to the manner in which EIC personnel interpreted and implemented the idealized policy.

The need to reduce the federal deficit was proposed as a reason for the freeze on advance payments, late in the 1985/86 fiscal year. This freeze increased the amount of carryover, and was perceived by several RHQ personnel as limiting opportunity for new activity early in the 1986/87 fiscal year. Under criticism, the federal Minister, apparently less aware of the effects of their freeze than either some Members of the Opposition or EIC personnel, authorized a brief period of solicitation during May. In Alberta, EIC personnel were required to generate $1 million of activity in approximately one month. A number of tensions emerged.

First, EIC personnel were faced with the need to relax some criteria. However by recommending proposals without public institution training, the target for indirect purchase expenditure would be made more difficult.

Second, the need to generate activities within a strict time frame was considered by several RHQ personnel to limit their opportunity to recommend only the best proposals.

Third, the fluctuating availability of funds was viewed as discouraging participation by private sector employers.

The idealized policy had contained a particular on such participation.

Similar tensions emerged following the subsequent activity freeze during July and August, and the announcement of the 17 October deadline for the fall round of projects.

Using Smith's conceptions, the implementing organization (EIC) had to adjust its interpretation of the idealized policy to incorporate the influence of the environmental factors. Indirect purchase requirements were relaxed and selectivity in recommendations was lessened. Proposals were largely submitted from the so-called traditional sponsors, the non-profit organizations. These adjustments were the transactions resulting from the tensions. A failure to adjust may have caused further tension, since unspent funds would have been likely to draw further reaction from environmental factors.

The method of training in Individually Subsidized Jobs. The Individually Subsidized Jobs Option was found to have a high degree of private employer involvement. The method of training was mostly on-the-job instruction. These characteristics caused concern among some Members of the Opposition and representatives from non-profit organizations. These groups argued that the option was primarily a wage subsidy program rather than one of providing effective training. This argument was evidenced in a request from the Executive Director of CJS that, based upon the minimal expenditure in training costs, more emphasis be given to training when negotiating contracts with employers.

Applying Smith's model, the Executive Director may be interpreted as asking the implementing organization to reconsider their understanding of the idealized policy. The response of RHQ personnel reflected a tension between their view of the idealized policy and that of the Executive Director.

RHQ personnel considered that the option was relatively simple in design, cost-effective, and was able to attract considerable private sector participation. These had been described in CJS policy documents as important features. They also felt that more emphasis on off-site training was inappropriate for the following reasons. First, the types of training were suited to participant characteristics and did not require detailed training plans or substantial off-site instruction. Second, the inclusion of off-site components would increase costs. Third, the requirement that employers release individuals for off-site training, while still having to pay a portion of the wage cost, would discourage involvement by private sector employers.

Therefore, the request by the Executive Director induced tension by presenting a different perspective of the idealized policy. This request was seen as a policy input brought about through feedback from earlier tensions between environmental factors (Members of the Opposition and non-profit organizations) and the idealized policy.

Training quality and diversity. The tensions induced by the demands to monitor training quality over a variety of training types were evidenced in the Job Development Program. Project files which contained most references to training quality were those projects in which serious problems were occurring. The majority of projects contained less detailed references of training quality. From Smith's (1973) perspective, this finding may relate to the crystallization of interaction patterns (between the implementing organization, the target group, and the idealized policy) into institutions. In those projects experiencing problems, the institution phase was bypassed, and tensions were fed back directly to generate further interactions, or indirectly through the policy-making process to effect policy changes.

Employment opportunities and equity considerations. The types of tension which were described as occurring in the Job Entry Program as relating to the dual aims of providing employment opportunities and promoting equity, were also evidenced in the Job Development Program.

One tension related to the objective of serving those most in need, while aiming to encourage participation by private sector employers. The 24-out-of-30 week requirement was criticized by RHQ personnel because it was viewed to discourage private sector employers. These personnel felt that employers were not willing to hire individuals who had been unemployed for such a period.

In Smith's terms, this situation may be interpreted as an interaction between the implementing organization (EIC) and the idealized policy. This interaction would appear to be influenced by the implementing organization's understanding of the relationship between environmental factors (perception of private sector employers), and the target group (chronically unemployed individuals).

The transaction which emerged from this interaction was that RHQ personnel requested that the 24-out-of-30 week requirement be relaxed, so as to encourage more private sector participation. The tension underlying this transaction was that RHQ personnel held the view that private sector employers offered significant potential for placing participants in ongoing employment. On the other hand, in proposing to increase this potential, RHQ personnel were lessening the emphasis on the idealized policy to serve those most in need.

A second tension described by RHQ personnel related to types of positions available and their potential for career development, and the aim of promoting equality of opportunity. The dilemma posed by these personnel was whether it was better to at least place an individual in a low-skill position, than for that individual to remain unemployed. This interaction between the implementing organization (EIC), the idealized policy, the target group (chronically unemployed persons) and environmental factors (the job market) was an ongoing source of tension. The transactions resulting from such tensions were also influenced by policy inputs relating to funding availability.

These policy inputs, which tended to result in intermittent periods of high activity, did have some effect in dampening this tension.

## Notions of Politics

Burlingame's (1977) view that political systems may be better described by the concept of negotiated order rather than by rational characteristics, is evidenced in the federal Minister's response to criticism concerning the freeze on Job Development project approvals.

The Minister's directive to the regions in May to begin soliciting proposals may be viewed as a response to criticism by Members of the Opposition. This directive may be more adequately explained on the basis of Burlingame's (1977) concept of a negotiated order, rather than rationality for two reasons. First, the imposition of the freeze was considered to be brought about by the need to reduce federal deficit, and to ensure funds were available for new activity during the fall and winter months when higher unemployment was expected. By releasing funds, the Minister's actions were not consistent with these objectives. Second, the release of funds over a specific time frame would not appear to be consistent with CJS policy documents, or earlier statements by the Minister indicating that the program operated on the basis of continuous intake. In fact, the imposition of the freeze on project approvals itself, conflicted with the Minister's vision of flexible programming operating on a continuous basis.

The fluctuating availability of funding and the responses of EIC personnel reflected Kaufman's (cited in Iannacone, 1980:193) contentions that relations among levels of government cannot be explained solely through rational means.

### Theories of Government Action and Associated Definitions of Policy

Functionalism. CJS policy documents referred to "an emphasis on the private sector to develop activities and opportunities" (EA 45.01,2c). This focus on cooperative development of direct services may be assumed as evidence of the functionalist conception of government action, as defined by Mitchell (1985).

However, viewing governments as service delivery mechanisms, assumes that governments act to tackle scarcity in order to reduce conflict. While policy documents, particularly information brochures, convey the message of service delivery through emphasizing cooperative action to help those most in need, it would appear that in practice scarcity was a concern. Consequently government action may be more accurately understood using Mitchell's (1985) exchange theory perspective.

Exchange theory. Scarcity is suggested as a concern in the Job Development Program from the evidence relating to the response of policymakers at NHQ, to requests to alter contribution schedules for private sector employers. The pattern of requests and responses may be interpreted through exchange theory, where government action is assumed as conflict management. From an exchange theory perspective, the requests by RHQ personnel for changes to funding arrangements, were aimed to encourage participation by private sector employers. A particular example was the request to relieve employers of the wage payment required for employees engaged in offsite training. The continued rejection of these requests may infer that scarcity was a concern of policymakers. Furthermore, the stance taken by the policymakers may be viewed as conflicting with the objective of engaging the private sector. The action of these policymakers, and the evidence relating to sponsor type in the General Projects Option and in Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged, suggest that the government acted ineffectively with regard to the formal policy objectives.

Further evidence of ineffective government action to encourage private sector sponsorship was the suggested effect that fluctuating funding availability and the imposition of deadlines had upon private sector employers' willingness to participate. In Mitchell's terms, fluctuating funding availability may be considered as a type of intermittent scarcity. The problem for private sector employers was that their need to participate did not necessarily coincide with the time when funds were available. Government action from an exchange theory perspective was not successful in this circumstance because the government did not make any funds available for subsequent bargaining or exchange.

Alternatively, Individually Subsidized Jobs was the Job Development option able to attract most private sector participation. The participation of private sector employers in this option may be considered as an example of effective government action from an exchange theory perspective. Here, the government offered a contribution schedule which was sufficiently attractive.

Structuralism. If, despite the evidence from CJS policy documents and Ministerial statements of the emphasis on private sector participation, greater stress was put upon conserving resources, then neither functionalism nor exchange theory are appropriate in explaining the government's action. The reluctance of the government to increase subsidies to private sector employers and the imposition of freezes on project approvals may instead be explained through Mitchell's structuralist conception of goverment action. This conception assumes governments act to reduce conflict by direct control.

Structuralism presumes scarcity and is therefore capable of explaining the government's action relating to private sector sponsorship and funding freezes. CJS policy documents present a consistent focus upon those most in need. Mitchell (1985) contends that structuralist policy gives prominence to equity. Therefore, a possible conclusion may be that the government's action is a direct attempt to conserve resources, while simultaneously focussing upon those most in need.

# CHAPTER 10

## Summary, Conclusions and Implications

The aim of the study was to examine the Canadian Jobs Strategy as an instrument used to finance recurrent education.

### Research Questions

Each research question was designed to address a particular policy outcome. An attempt was then made to suggest causes of that outcome.

These questions were:

1. How, and in which types of skills, do CJS participants receive training?

2. How, and to what extent, does CJS foster the provision of employment opportunities?

3. How, and to what extent, does CJS encourage equality of participation?

4. How, and to what extent, does CJS encourage equity of the financial burden?

### The Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework

The Canadian Jobs Strategy Monitoring Framework was used to classify information about policy outcomes (or consequences) and their causes. The research questions were incorporated in this framework through outcome assessment criteria.

## Outcome Assessment Criteria

Outcome assessment criteria were developed as a means of analyzing information relating to the research questions. Information pertaining to question 1 was categorized by the criterion, encouraging skill acquisition; question 2 by the criterion, encouraging employment opportunities; question 3 by the criterion, encouraging equality of participation; and question 4 by the criterion, encouraging equity of the financial burden.

These criteria were used to extend the investigation of research questions to include some measure of policy impact. For example, the criterion, encouraging skill acquisition, was used as a focus for examining the consequences associated with how, and in what types of skills, participants received training. Similarly, the other criteria were used as a means of classifying responses brought about by policy outputs.

## Sources of Information

The allocation of a workspace at RHQ and the interest of EIC personnel facilitated access to information.

Project files, aggregated CJS data, CJS policy documents, and interviews with EIC personnel provided a variety of information concerning policy causes and consequences. These sources were supplemented by interviews with provincial government personnel and postsecondary educators. Other data sources included Hansard transcripts, newspaper reports, news releases, and public information sessions.

## Data Collection

The data collection phase of the study lasted approximately 12 months. However, most information was gathered at RHQ between July and December 1986. Prior to, and following the period at RHQ, interviews with provincial officials and postsecondary educators were conducted.

## Data Analysis

Information underwent three stages of classification: (1) by program element, (2) by research question, and (3) by whether the information pertained to a policy cause (input or process) or a policy consequence (output or impact).

## Causes and Consequences

Skill Acquisition. The types of skills, the manner in which training was given, and the responses which these factors drew from individuals and groups, varied across the program elements.

In the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option, training was provided in designated occupational skills. This training was mostly given by employers or staff members, using on-the-job methods. Explanations offered for the limited activity in this option were the poor economic situation and the occupations originally listed as shortages. The original list of occupations had been developed from a national listing appropriate to EIC programming prior to CJS. The introduction of designation guidelines, after the first year of operation, was aimed toward increasing activity by allowing for the designation of localized skill shortages.

Training in the Skill Investment Program was designed to provide the skills necessary to respond to changing technology and markets. It was anticipated that the Small Business Training Option would encourage employers to respond to such changes, by the provision of financial incentives to train their employees. The most common form of training was electronic data processing. This training was usually provided by private trainers, using on-the-job techniques.

The variety of training types was a feature of this option. The common perception was that this placed demands upon the expertise of CEC personnel, during approval and monitoring activities.

Postsecondary educators and business representatives expressed a mixed response concerning the nature of training. Some postsecondary educators viewed the option design as an opportunity to respond to the needs of employers, while others cited the difficulties of such cooperative programming and were critical of the federal government's support of non-provincially approved private trainers. Several business representatives criticized public institutions for inflexibility, while others commended them for responsiveness.

The Extended Training Leave Option was designed to encourage employers to release employees for off-site training. All training was given by public institutions with the most common form of training being language instruction.

Training plans, submitted by boards of trustees in the Training Trust Fund Option, were less specific than those of the other Skill Investment options. The boards of trustees were viewed to assume a leading role in the development of training provision. The nature of this provision was considered to be more diverse than in other program elements. Consequently, less detail was required for project approval. However, the payment of contributions was conditional upon a favourable assessment that the training was consistent with program objectives. Participants in the Training Trust Fund Option were given upgrading in skills related to construction, machining and product fabricating, assembling and repairing occupations.

The Job Entry Program provided training in basic and occupation-specific skills, through a combination of off-site instruction and work experience. The review board was considered to exert an important influence on the nature of training. Examples include influence over the types of occupations trained for, the emphasis given to basic versus occupational skills, and the choice of trainer.

The Minister's assurance that decreases in direct purchase expenditure would be compensated by indirect purchase of public institutional training resulted in giving priority to proposals which included such training. A difficulty in implementing this priority was the response of the private sector coordinators, most of whom had the primary role in training delivery and desired a second cycle of projects. Several of these coordinators argued that public institutions were not capable of meeting the needs of participants eligible under Job Entry criteria.

Between 30% and 40% of the project period was spent in off-site training. Work experience positions were mostly in clerical, sales or service occupations.

Over half of the Job Entry projects were managed by private sector coordinators. In the Entry Option, all private sector coordinators gave off-site instruction in basic skills, and 68% of these coordinators provided training in occupation-specific skills. A similar pattern was evident in the Re-Entry Option.

The involvement of private sector coordinators was a concern to some postsecondary educators and provincial officials. These individuals contended that the federal government's support of non-provincially approved private sector coordinators had caused problems in relation to certification and training quality assessment.

Like the Job Entry Program, the Job Development Program was designed to provide training in basic and occupation-specific skills through a combination of off-site training and practical experience.

In the General Projects Option, the Regional Review Committee exerted some control over the training plans proposed by potential sponsors. However, this control was limited by the need to generate activity over particular time periods. For example, less emphasis was placed upon the purchase of public institutional training.

Sponsors were the sole trainers of 39% of projects. These arrangements most commonly occurred where the type of training was more suited to on-site instruction. A particular example was the almost exclusive use of sponsors as trainers in forestry-related projects.

The Individually Subsidized Jobs Option involved less detailed assessments of training plans. Contracts were negotiated by the employer and the employment counsellor, rather than through a review structure involving Ministerial approval. RHQ personnel contended that the design of this option, which was aimed to place employment-disadvantaged individuals in entry level positions did not necessitate a complicated approval process. The nature of the training, as evidenced by the frequent use of terms such as "helper" or "assistant" in training titles, would likely involve a combination of observation and guided practice at the production site.

Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged focussed heavily upon instruction in basic skills. RHQ personnel indicated that participants often lacked fundamental communication skills. The emphasis in reviewing proposals was that instruction in these skills and in occupational skills be readily applicable to entry level positions.

The focus upon instruction in basic skills was evidenced by the most frequent occupational category being "project participant", and the most frequent training title being "preparation for employment". Instruction in these skills was viewed by sponsors and by RHQ personnel as being a prerequisite to any further skill training.

All instruction in basic skills was provided by sponsors. Occupation skill instruction was given at work experience sites. In view of their experience in dealing with the severely employment-disadvantaged, some sponsors considered that the emphasis given to off-site occupational skill training (particularly in public institutions) was misplaced.

In the Direct Purchase Option, training was provided through the purchase by CEIC of seats in regular courses offered by institutions, provincial ad hoc courses, federal ad hoc courses, and through CEIC contracting with provincially approved private trainers. The types of training undertaken were generally found to reflect those given in other components of a particular program. For example, participants referred under Job Development and Job Entry criteria undertook either vocational or vocational preparation courses. Those referred under Skill Investment criteria received part-time vocational training while those referred under Skill Shortages criteria were given vocational training in designated occupational skill shortages. The classification of apprentices under Skill Shortages criteria was an exception to this pattern. Apprentices were referred to training by provincial authorities. They were not required to undertake training for a designated skill shortage occupation. Apprenticeship trainees accounted for over 63% of the seats reserved on course lists.

The most common forms of training for participants referred by EIC personnel, were language training, academic upgrading, and vocational training in clerical occupations.

Employment Opportunities.—An objective of each program element was to foster employment opportunities.

The Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option was assumed through its design to increase participants' employment potential by providing training in skills in demand. The objective of the Skill Investment Program was to prevent unemployment by encouraging employers to train employees in the skills required to respond to technological and market changes. Participants in the Job Entry and Job Development Programs were considered as being assisted in making their transition to the labour force through a combination of training and work experience activities. Finally, trainees were referred under the Direct Purchase Option to courses, forecast to provide graduates with significant employment opportunities.

However, obtaining a measure of the extent to which each program fostered employment opportunities was difficult. In the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option and in the Skill Investment, employers' proposals often emphasized the likelihood of unemployment should training not be undertaken. However upon project completion, it was difficult from project file information to gauge any measure of the extent to which training assisted in either maintaining employment or improving promotion opportunities.

Similarly, difficulty was found in measuring the extent to which participation in Job Entry and Job Development projects increased employment potential. Proposals by potential coordinators and sponsors commonly held significant promise for ongoing employment. However, neither training place hosts nor sponsors were required or able to give guarantees of employment upon project completion.

Additional problems faced EIC personnel in reviewing such proposals. First, participants' characteristics were considered to limit the range of employment opportunities, commonly to entry level positions. A dilemma for review boards was whether to accept proposals which offered reasonable potential for ongoing employment in entry level positions, or reject those proposals on the basis that they encouraged individuals to take low skill jobs which offered little chance of career development.

A second problem in assessing proposals was accounting for the influence of prevailing economic circumstances. The dilemma in this case was whether to approve proposals which were judged to provide effective training but due to economic circumstances, lacked employment potential, or reject those proposals due to the poor likelihood of ongoing employment.

RHQ personnel explained that a pragmatic stance was taken in relation to these problems. Often the choice was complicated further by funding availability, deadlines for submissions, and other issues (such as the priority on indirect purchase from public institutions). Evidence of pragmatism was found in the conditions attached to the recommendations for approval. For example, the proponent may have been asked to reconsider the type of occupational skill training, or to engage employers or training place hosts who offer greater recruitment potential.

Since most of the Job Entry and Job Development project files searched were those still active, little information was available regarding the fate of participants following project completion.

The degree to which participation in the Direct Purchase Option increased employment opportunities was also difficult to measure. Little information was available through automated information systems during the monitoring period. However, some EIC personnel did suggest that increased emphasis be given to marketing trainees to employers, following course completion. This suggestion did include reference to present difficulties relating to time availability.

Equality of Participation. Participation in each program was governed by specific eligibility criteria. However the emphasis on encouraging participation of members of the designated target groups (women, Natives, visible minorities, and disabled) was common to all programs. This emphasis was evidenced by the development of regional targets for participation by these designated groups. The extent to which these targets were reached varied across program elements. Problems in attaining these targets were most common in the Skill Shortages and Skill Investment Programs, which generally involved participants already on the employer's payroll. The review mechanism in the Job Entry and Job Development programs was found to provide more control over participation by target group members. In these programs, participants were not members of a pre-existing employed labour force.

Participant eligibility in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option was primarily based upon the capacity to be trained in a designated skill. The nature of the occupations, from which training in the designated skills could take place, was contended by RHQ personnel to closely relate to participant characteristics. For example, 94% of participants were male, the average participant wage rate was $13.64 per hour, and 91% had attained an educational level of grade 11 or higher.

Vulnerability to loss of employment due to technological or market changes was the basis for assessing participant eligibility in the Skill Investment Program. Participant age and education level characteristics for the Small Business Training Option, were similar to those for the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option. However, one distinguishing feature was the difference in wage levels between males and females: 73% of males received greater than, whereas 67% of females received less than $10 per hour. This finding was explained by the prevalence of office automation activities in this option. These activities, related to training in electronic data processing, and involved both managerial staff (males) and secretarial staff (females).

Education and wage level participant characteristics in the Extended Training Leave Option were generally lower than those in the Small Business Training Option. Further, participation by members of visible minorities was greater. These characteristics related to the major training focus on language instruction.

No detailed participant characteristics were available in the Training Trust Fund Option, since only forecast information was included in project files.

The limited involvement of employers in the Training Trust Fund Option was explained by EIC personnel to be a consequence of the structure of the boards of trustees. These personnel contended that the requirement that at least half the trustees be employee representatives discouraged employers from participating. Employers were assumed to be reluctant to become involved with unions.

The Job Entry Program criteria focussed on youth and women, viewed to be experiencing difficulty in making the transition to the labour force. To increase the likelihood that the program serve those most in need, RHQ personnel introduced a 50% quota on participation by social service recipients in the Re-Entry Option. This was viewed as a way to address the problem of women who were theoretically eligible to participate but were considered capable of finding employment without government assistance.

The Job Entry participant characteristics reflected the program's eligibility criteria. The problems experienced by participants also reflected these criteria. Entry Option participants commonly encountered difficulty through their attitude to life in general, and to work and schooling in particular. Lack of self-confidence and family pressures were identified as problems for Re-Entry participants.

Some postsecondary educators questioned the emphasis on disadvantaged youth. They argued that employers were less inclined to become involved and that further, the focus on the disadvantaged neglected the needs of other youth.

One postsecondary educator who had experience with Job Entry programs felt that the duration of Job Entry projects could be lengthened, in view of the severity of problems experienced by some youth.

Longterm unemployed persons were eligible to participate in the Job Development Program. Reasons for unemployment ranged from lack of available employment opportunities to severe employment-disadvantage.

Participant education level characteristics and the interest groups served by projects reflected the focus of serving those most in need. This focus was evidenced by the requirement that participants be unemployed for 24 of the previous 30 weeks. This requirement was criticized by some Members of the Opposition for its failure to address the needs of the majority of unemployed. RHQ personnel also criticized the requirement. These critics suggested that it was one factor which discouraged participation by private sector employers in the General Projects Option and the Projects for the Severely-Employment Disadvantaged. RHQ personnel viewed that employers were suspicious of the reasons why individuals may be unemployed for that length of time.

In contrast, the Individually Subsidized Jobs Option was able to attract considerable private sector involvement. The 24 out of 30 week requirement did not appear to affect private sector employer participation in this case.

The eligibility criteria for participation in the Direct Purchase Option were generally the same as those applied to other components of the particular program. Exceptions were: (1) the referral of language trainees under Job Entry criteria, (2) the classification of apprentices referred by provincial authorities, and (3) the referral of unemployed individuals under Skill Shortages criteria.

Consequently the participant characteristics in the Direct Purchase Option resembled those of the other components of the particular program. For example, trainees referred under Job Entry or Job Development criteria were found to have similar education level and employment status characteristics to project participants in those programs.

The referral process allowed for supplementary treatment for members of target groups. The years out-of-school requirement for academic upgrading was able to be waivered for Native trainees. Also, the first 30% of places on course waiting lists were reserved for members of the designated target groups.

Provincially-referred apprentices were not subject to any CJS criteria, other than that of the Skill Shortages Program. Further, few details of apprentice characteristics were available from EIC information systems.

Equity of the Financial Burden. The nature of cost-sharing arrangements varied across program elements.

Incrementality was cited by RHQ personnel as an important criterion in assessing Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option and Skill Investment Program proposals. Incrementality relates to the probability that the employer would undertake training in the absence of CEIC financial support. If that probability is low, then CEIC support is viewed as incremental. However these personnel explained that precise measurement of incrementality was neither possible nor practical. They continued that CEC personnel may not have either the expertise or the time to examine complicated financial statements. Further, they argued that such examinations may discourage employers from participating.

Incrementality was also balanced with the need to generate program activity in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option. In the Skill Investment Program, it was primarily assessed through contentions by employers, relating to the probability of subsequent lay-offs should training not take place. The need for CEIC support was more apparent in the Training Trust Fund Option. In this option, details were available concerning decreases in employer contributions, brought about by adverse economic conditions.

Poor economic conditions were also suggested as a cause for the limited activity in the Extended Training Leave Option. Training in this option was totally conducted using offsite methods, and therefore was undertaken with no accompanying production. In view of this factor, and the state of Alberta's economy, the financial burden of having to pay at least 50% of an amended wage, was considered to discourage employer participation.

Another example where the level of financial burden caused concern was the fees charged by private trainers for instruction in electronic data processing. The imposition of limits on the duration and level of cost reimbursement was designed to aid CEC personnel in assessing proposals, which involved this type of training.

Cost-sharing arrangements associated with the Job Entry Program, drew a mixed response from coordinators, postsecondary educators, and provincial officials. Some postsecondary educators and provincial officials were critical of the profit motive of private sector coordinators. They suggested that this motive was served at the expense of educational objectives. They further argued that the CJS emphasis to involve the private sector was misleading, given the total dependence of these coordinators upon CEIC financial support.

This dependence was reflected in the coordinators' response to the changes in funding priorities, resulting from the federal Minister's assurance of compensation through indirect purchase.

The response of EIC personnel to the Minister's assurance was to inform coordinators of CEIC's need to cooperate with the provincial government, as well as with the private sector. A further response was to begin soliciting direct contracts with public institutions to increase the level of indirect purchase. This was done to allow the approval of some proposals without public institutional training. This latter response was viewed by some RHQ personnel, to contravene the original intention to decrease direct purchase expenditure.

Fluctuating funding availability and the imposition of deadlines were considered to severely influence the delivery of the General Projects Option. The Minister's original intent, and the objectives expressed in CJS policy documents, were that this option operate on the basis of continuous intake. However, the need to reduce the federal deficit, and the pressure to save the majority of funds for the fall and winter months, led to freezes on project approvals.

The reactions of Opposition Members were considered partly responsible for temporarily lifting the freeze on project approvals during May and June 1986. This period of intense solicitation, and another in September and October, had important impacts on option objectives. First, the need to develop proposals within specific time frames led to the relaxation of some assessment criteria. RHQ personnel considered that if this had not been done, further problems, such as increased carryover and/or substantial slippage of funds, would have occurred.

Second, the intermittent availability of funds was thought to discourage private sector employers from participating. RHQ personnel argued that these employers' needs may not have coincided with periods when funds were available.

Another factor thought to influence the participation of private sector employers was their requirement to pay 40% of the participant's wage, while the participant was engaged in off-site training. Non-profit organizations were fully reimbursed and did not have this requirement.

Individually Subsidized Jobs, which gave less emphasis to off-site training, was able to attract considerable private sector participation. In this option, employers while encouraged to purchase off-site training, preferred on-the-job methods, which incurred less training costs. This explanation was corroborated by evidence that less than 1% of the option budget was associated with such costs.

Evidence relating to training cost expenditure was a concern of the Executive Director of CJS. This concern accompanied criticism by Opposition Members and representatives from non-profit organizations that this option was primarily a wage subsidy program, rather than one aimed at providing substantial training. The response of RHQ personnel was that the evidence of training cost expenditure did not give a clear indication of the value of on-the-job training. However, some RHQ personnel did recognize that the degree of incrementality associated with on-the-job training, was difficult to ascertain.

The phases of wage reimbursement levels in Individually Subsidized Jobs were viewed as an effective means of financial support. These phases, through gradually decreasing CEIC contributions, were considered to wean the employer off the contract while providing the highest levels of reimbursement when worker productivity tended to be lowest.

Costs for Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged were substantial. A particular example was capital costs, resulting from the special needs of option participants. Participant characteristics were viewed as inevitably increasing project costs. A tension in the approval and operation of these projects was explained by RHQ personnel, as involving the need to justify the high costs against the alternatives of non-participation.

The proposed reductions in direct purchase expenditure, and the implications for institutional training brought about through the introduction of CJS, drew strong reactions from Members of the Opposition and provincial Ministers. The criticisms of these groups led the federal Minister to give an assurance that the decrease in direct purchase expenditure would be compensated, through indirect purchases of public institutional training by 3rd parties. Further, she promised that in the event where the level of indirect purchase was less than the amount of direct purchase reduction, CEIC would pay the difference. The implications of the Minister's action have been made evident through the presentation of findings for other CJS program elements.

The introduction of CJS coincided with the expiry of the federal-provincial training agreements. The Minister's assurance may have been viewed as an attempt to ensure subsequent federal-provincial training agreement negotiations would be successfully and quickly concluded. There were, however, other provincial concerns besides the reduction in direct purchase expenditure.

In Alberta, the training agreement negotiations were heavily influenced by the possible impact of CJS eligibility criteria upon continued federal government support of apprenticeship training. The CEIC view, expressed by RHQ personnel, was that provincially-referred apprentices may not always meet CJS criteria, and particularly the CJS emphasis upon serving those most in need. An important issue was the use of UI as income support. Some federal personnel questioned whether apprentices were genuinely unemployed and therefore entitled to such support. The provincial view was that the federal government's approach to equity was inappropriate. They argued the federal government should not be telling employers who to hire. The provincial stance was that such a decision rests with the employer.

Another issue influencing the Canada-Alberta Training

Agreement negotiations, was the concern of the provincial government relating to federal support of non-provincially approved private trainers. The provincial government considered that they had the right to attest to the quality of training provided by these individuals.

In the development of the draft agreement, it was proposed that the apprenticeship issue and problems relating to attestation, be subject to further study. The status quo was to remain with regard to apprenticeship, and terms of provincial involvement in attestation were to be developed.

Despite the lack of a Canada-Alberta Training Agreement, negotiations between EIC and provincial officials regarding purchase requirements and per diem costs took place, and trainees continued to be referred. These negotiations were seen to involve considerations of past activity, present economic circumstances and the federal government's role in providing trainee income support. This last consideration was particularly important in the negotiations over apprenticeship per diems.

## The Canadian Jobs Strategy Interpretive Framework

The findings were linked to the literature on recurrent education and notions of politics and political systems through the Canadian Jobs Strategy Interpretive Framework. These findings are summarized under the following components of that framework.

## Historical Context

A close linkage between recurrent education and employment policy, as proposed by OECD (1975), was commonly evidenced through CJS. The objective of the Skill Shortages Program was to provide training in designated occupational skills which would aid in alleviating critical skill shortages as well as increasing individuals' employment opportunities. Training in the Skill Investment Program was designed to respond to changing technological markets which threatened employment. The aims of the Job Entry and Job Development Programs were to assist individuals to obtain ongoing employment.

Another example of the linkage between recurrent education and employment policy was the use of unemployment insurance as income support for trainees receiving instruction through the Direct Purchase Option.

Houghton and Richardson (1974) viewed that systems of recurrent education should be aimed particularly toward individuals, who would be considered disadvantaged in their opportunities to participate in recurrent education activities. The Job Development and Job Entry Programs were designed to serve the needs of these individuals. Further, the development of regional targets for participation by members of disadvantaged groups, and the reservation of the first 30% of places for these individuals in courses offered through the Direct Purchase Option, are examples of the approach suggested by Houghton and Richardson (1974).

Other components of CJS reflected the early forms of recurrent education described by Kallen (1979). These forms were essentially replicas of youth education for adults, with disadvantaged adults receiving priority. Particular examples were vocational preparation training available through the Direct Purchase Option, and training in Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged.

The Skill Investment Program reflected the conception of OECD (1973) and Duke (1982), that recurrent education may serve as a mechanism to cope with changing work environments, and the consequent imbalance of supply and demand of qualified workers.

The Job Entry Program emphasized the features suggested by OECD (1973,1975). For example, it was viewed as a way of dealing with some problems inherent in the traditional "front-end" model of education, such as the increasing incidence of dropouts (Entry Option) and the educational disadvantage of older groups (Re-Entry Option). Also it may be considered as an attempt to foster new methods of provision, through the role of coordinators, trainers, and training place hosts.

## Motives

The contention of Lewin and Schutze (1983) that the diversity of motives underlying recurrent education, inhibits the development of comprehensive systems was partially supported. Several examples of conflicting motives were apparent. First, the Job Entry Program aimed to foster participation and equity and induce public institutions to change aspects of their course offerings and admission requirements. However the attempt to induce institutional change was thwarted by the need to maintain the level of indirect purchase expenditure. Consequently, the motive of institutional change was de-emphasized.

Second, the emphasis on encouraging participation by those most in need was found to conflict with the aims to involve private sector employers in the General Projects Option, and the limited participation by employers in the Training Trust Fund Option.

## Obstacles to Participation

Ascriptive factors, such as sex and educational level, and social background factors, such as employment history, were suggested by Timmermann (1983) as affecting participation in recurrent education. Eligibility criteria for the Job Development and Job Entry Programs were specifically designed to deal with these obstacles.

Timmermann (1983) also contended that some jobs have more recurrent education value or closeness. The findings for the Small Business Training Option would suggest that clerical occupations have such closeness.

Jackson and Weatherby (1975) proposed that the forms and levels of financial contribution present significant obstacles to participation. The degree of financial burden and the limited involvement of private sector employers in the Extended Training Leave Option and the General Projects Option would support the view of these authors.

## Equity Principles

Varying degrees of horizontal and vertical equity were found across program elements. Aspects of vertical equity were most apparent in the Job Development and Job Entry Programs, while the Skill Shortages and Skill Investment Programs tended to focus more upon horizontal equity. Some evidence of vertical equity was apparent in the Extended Training Leave Option and the Training Trust Fund Option of the Skill Investment Programs. However, this was considered as a consequence of pre-existing factors, rather than through CJS policy initiatives.

Within this general perspective, particular examples were the Re-Entry Option criterion which may be described as positivism (McMahon, 1982), and the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option, which may be considered to closely resemble commutative equity (McMahon, 1982). Between these extremes, there were several examples of proportionality. These included the reservation of the first 30% of places on course waiting lists in the Direct Purchase Option for members of target groups, enhancement funding in the Job Entry Program, and the differences in levels of reimbursement between private sector employers and non-profit organizations in the Job Development Program.

## Policy as a Tension-Generating Force

Smith's (1973) model of policy implementation was used as a means to interpret relationships between EIC (the implementing organization), CJS (the idealized policy), CJS participants (target groups), and other groups or individuals and the economic climate (environmental factors).

Examples were presented where interactions between these components produced tensions. In some cases, these tensions led to transactions based upon patterns of previous action (institutions). Three examples of tensions handled in this manner, were presented. The first concerned the demands upon EIC personnel to monitor training quality over a wide range of training types. The second related to the possible dilemma faced by EIC personnel between approving projects which offered potential for employment in low-skill, low mobility positions, or rejecting those proposals on the basis that participation would lead individuals to accept jobs which offered little potential for career development. A third example concerned the difficulty in assessing the influence of the economic climate upon employment opportunities.

In each of these examples, regular patterns of interactions were found. In the first case, training quality was reported in significantly more detail when problems were evident, while in the second and third examples, conditions were often attached by EIC personnel to the recommendations for approval.

However, most tensions could not be handled using established interaction patterns. Each of the following examples led to tensions which fed back directly to generate further tensions or effect policy changes:

1. The reactions of provincial Ministers and others to the decrease in direct purchase expenditure.

2. The federal Minister's assurance to the provincial Ministers that any decrease in direct purchase expenditure would be compensated.

3. The priority that was given to Job Entry proposals containing public institutional training components.

4. The reactions of private sector coordinators to that priority.

5. The EIC response to the Minister's assurance and the reactions of the private sector coordinators.

6. The imposition of the freeze on project approvals in the Job Development: General Projects Option.

7. The reactions of Members of the Opposition and others to that freeze on project approvals.

8. The federal Minister's decisions to release General Projects Option funds, thereby creating intermittent periods of high activity in proposal solicitation and development.

9. The EIC response to that fluctuating funding availability and the related impositions of deadlines for the submission of applications.

Smith's model was applied to each of these examples. These applications demonstrated Smith's (1973:202) views that tensions are a likely and natural result of attempts to induce change, and that further "policy formulated by a government serves as a tension-generating force in society."

## Notions of Politics and Political Systems

Iannacone (1980:200) explains that "the essence of the political act is the struggle by individuals or groups to secure the authoritative support of the government for their values." This view was evidenced in the actions of: (1) the provincial Ministers responding to the proposed decreases in direct purchase expenditure, (2) the private sector coordinators in response to the priority concerning public institutional training, and (3) the provincial officials involved in the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations. Each of these sets of actions produced a different outcome. The provincial Ministers received the Minister's assurance of compensation. The coordinators were largely unsuccessful in gaining government support. The provincial and federal officials reached a compromise on aspects relating to apprenticeship and attestation.

The continuance of negotiations on training volumes and per diem costs, and of referral of trainees in spite of formal authority was an example of Burlingame's (1977) conception of political systems as negotiated orders. Other examples of this conception were negotiations leading to apprentice training per diems which did not align with the actual delivery cost, and the federal Minister's decisions affecting funding availability in the General Projects Option.

Kaufman's view (cited in Iannacone, 1980:193) concerning relations between levels of government was used to interpret actions of EIC personnel. Two examples were the response to fluctuating availability of funds, and the priority placed on public institutional training and the subsequent reduction of private sector coordinators. Schüller's (1978) interpretations of communication and coordination were also pertinent to the EIC response.

## Models of Politics

Weeres' (1984) resource dependency model of politics was applied to interpret the actions of private sector coordinators, and the public institutions which became significantly involved in CJS projects. This model was also used to explain the limited response of other public institutions.

The actions of private trainers providing instruction in electronic data processing were interpreted through the competitive isomorphism model of politics (Weeres, 1984). This model was also applied to explain the difficulties faced by provincially administered institutions in competing for training contracts.

## Theories of Government and Associated Definitions of Policy

Mitchell's (1985) framework of government action was applied to each program element. Government action in the Direct Purchase Option varied from structuralism, evidenced through federal ad hoc courses, to functionalism, identified by CEIC participation in provincial ad hoc courses. Further, issues related to the Direct Purchase Option such as the federal Minister's negotiations with provincial Ministers, and the Canada-Alberta Training Agreement negotiations may be viewed in terms of exchange theory.

The government's role as a service delivery mechanism was most apparent in the Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option. In this case, the government exercised direct control through occupation designation and project approval and monitoring processes. These characteristics were closely related to the functionalist perspective. Interactionism was also suggested through the action of CEC personnel canvassing employers in order to increase the volume of option activity.

Functionalism was also evident in the government's action in the Small Business Training Option, although the imposition of the limit on reimbursements for computer training did reflect aspects of exchange theory. The limited volume of activity in the Extended Training Leave Option was considered as ineffective government action from an exchange theory perspective. The Training Trust Fund Option was the program element most closely identified with the interactionist form of government action.

To interpret the government's actions in the Job Entry and Job Development Programs, Mitchell's (1985) framework was extended to include the possibility that a government may be perceived as acting through various forms simultaneously. For example, CJS policy documents relating to these programs, emphasized cooperative action and involvement with the private sector. These sentiments were also evident in Ministerial statements reflected a functionalist perspective where scarcity was not presumed.

In the Job Entry Program, the priority on public institutional training may be interpreted as a transition from functionalism to exchange theory. This priority represented the regulation and manipulation of private activity, identified by Mitchell as a characteristic of exchange theory. Nevertheless, EIC correspondence continued to be functionalist in tone, emphasizing cooperation and shared responsibility. The tone of this correspondence reflected the difficult position of EIC personnel in responding to conflicting pressures.

The Individually Subsidized Jobs Option may be considered as evidence of effective government action from an exchange theory perspective, due to the high proportion of private sector involvement. However, this conclusion would require a presumption of scarcity, and would also involve an analysis of the extent to which the government's action was incremental. Alternatively, if the government was assumed as a service delivery mechanism, then the level of private sector participation may be attributed as evidence of functionalism.

The lack of participation by private sector employers in the General Projects Option led to requests by RHQ personnel to alter equity criteria and contribution schedules. Such requests may be viewed as recognizing scarcity and encouraging private sector involvement, and therefore closely resemble exchange theory. However, officials at NHQ repeatedly rejected these requests. Private sector participation remained limited. Therefore from an exchange theory perspective, government action was ineffective. This conclusion was supported by further barriers to private sector participation, presented by the fluctuating availability of funds.

Structuralism may be suggested as a third form of government action pertaining to the General Projects Option. Applying this conception, the rejections of requests of RHQ personnel was consistent with efforts to give prominence to equity and to exercise direct public control.

One conclusion emerging from these findings for the General Projects Option is that three forms of government action may be perceived simultaneously. CJS policy documents and Ministerial statements portrayed functionalism. Requests by RHQ personnel reflected aspects of exchange theory. The actions of officials at NHQ in conserving resources, and in focussing upon those most in need, may be best explained in structuralist terms.

## Implications for Research

### Policy Monitoring

The following reflections on the methodology adopted for this study may prove useful to researchers considering or designing studies which involve policy monitoring.

First, I found that the process of obtaining access to information was at times slow. However, this process aided in focussing the research emphases.

Second, once access had been gained, more specific decisions were required. These decisions related to the types of information to be gathered and the sequence and the time-frame for collection.

Third, I would recommend prolonged engagement at the major data collection site. I found that the opportunity of having a workspace at RHQ held the following advantages. I was able to develop a knowledge of general processes and objectives, from constant and largely informal contact with individuals responsible for policy implementation. Also this contact gave me an appreciation of the significance of certain events, as well as access to further policy documents, and other personnel.

Fourth, I found that over the months at RHQ I risked becoming increasingly biased toward EIC viewpoints. To balance this perspective, I sought information from provincial officials, postsecondary educators, Hansard transcripts and newspapers. Project files also contained alternate points of view.

Finally, the volume of information required that content analysis be a continuous process. A major difficulty was judging the relative importance of individual pieces of information as they were collected. This led to a reluctance to ignore pieces of information and the consequent accumulation of material. This material contained pieces of information which varied in significance and frequency. In condensing the information, I found that developing insights required some readjustment of the emphases in research questions, and the elements of the conceptual framework.

## Recurrent Education

Further studies of recurrent education should recognize the diverse nature of the concept. The findings supported the views of Levin and Schutze (1983) concerning the conflicting motives underlying recurrent education policy. The implementation of the Canadian Jobs Strategy was seen to involve numerous tensions which may be considered as consequences of such conflicting motives. Also within the policy itself, different interpretations of equity were apparent.

In view of these findings, it would appear that significant potential remains to investigate recurrent education policy from a political perspective.

## Notions of Politics and Political Systems

Burlingame's (1977) concept of negotiated order, and Kaufman's contentions (cited in Iannacone, 1980) concerning relations among levels of government were used to describe the actions of particular groups and individuals. These actions highlighted some of the less rational characteristics of political systems. Nevertheless while such actions, in Burlingame's (1977) terms, may demonstrate few tight linkages between inputs, conversion processes and outputs, applying the notion of a political system did allow some basis for analysis. In future studies, I would recommend the application of a political system notion, while recognizing the limitations to explaining actions in solely rational terms.

The resource dependency model of politics (Weeres, 1984) requires further study. Its application to the findings in this study was limited. Questions relating to degrees and causes of dependence, and associated levels of response, need further investigation.

Mitchell's (1985) framework of government action offers considerable opportunities for further study. The findings for this study yielded insights concerning transitions between various forms of action, as well as the possibility that governments may operate in numerous modes simultaneously.

Future studies may more closely examine the transitions and relationships between the various forms of government action. Some related questions would concern distinctions between direct and indirect government action, as well as the nature of scarcity and its relationship to viewing governments as conflict management or service delivery mechanisms. The answers to such questions may suggest that the distinctions are less precise than had been proposed by Mitchell (1985).

One of the findings in this study was that different groups operated from, or were subject to, differing perspectives of government action. Further study of how and why these perspectives emerged, could be undertaken.

## Implications for Practice

The operation of the Canadian Jobs Strategy may be viewed from two perspectives, one focussing on actions at the Ministerial or policymaking level, the other toward actions of personnel responsible for policy implementation.

In this study, actions at the policymaking level were sometimes found to conflict with the understanding of policy objectives by personnel responsible for implementation. One example was the priority placed upon public institutional training. This action conflicted with the understandings which personnel involved with program delivery held in relation to the objective of cooperation and participation with the private sector. Another example was the imposition of funding freezes and deadlines for submission of applications in a program element believed by personnel at RHQ and in CJS Units to operate on a continuous intake basis.

These conflicts led to tensions which severely affected the achievement of the stated program objectives. They made the demanding task of policy implementation, even more difficult.

The demands upon personnel responsible for program delivery, are substantial. Solicitation and development of proposals and monitoring processes require that employment counsellors and project officers possess effective communication skills, detailed knowledge of accounting procedures, and the ability to assess training quality over a wide range of training types.

The implications for practice from these remarks are as follows. First, there is need for greater congruence between stated policy objectives and actions at the policymaking level. Second, particular emphasis should be given to developing the skills of the field office personnel who deal directly with clients.

A further problem cited by several RHQ coordinators and postsecondary educators was the high rate of turn-over of project officers. RHQ and CJS Unit personnel explained that project officers who had been considered as performing effectively, were likely to be promoted to other duties. Also some coordinators and postsecondary educators expressed frustration in having to deal with new personnel who were not familiar with their project.

Finally, a major objective of CJS was to provide individuals with the skills to obtain or retain employment. Through my search of project files, and from information available through automated systems during the monitoring period, I found considerable difficulty in establishing a measure of the extent to which this objective was met.

Efforts should be made to develop more effective ways of achieving and measuring the objective of reducing or preventing unemployment.

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# APPENDIX A

# CANADIAN JOBS STRATEGY SUMMARY

Employment and
Immigration Canada

Emploi et
Immigration Canada

# Canadian Jobs Strategy

| PROGRAM / CHARACTERISTICS | SKILL INVESTMENT | JOB ENTRY | JOB DEVELOPMENT | SKILL SHORTAGES | INNOVATIONS | COMMUNITY FUTURES |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Objective** | To help workers whose jobs are threatened by changing technology and economic conditions | To assist young people and women having difficulty making the transition from school or home into the labour market | To provide skills training and work experience to long-term unemployed people | To alleviate critical skill shortages, filling employers' needs for workers with specialized training for new technological and labour market change | To stimulate the search for new initiatives and solutions to labour market related problems | To help workers in communities facing severe economic conditions. It will focus on creating long-term employment opportunities |
| **What it Does** | Provides assistance to employees for up to three years of on- and off-the-job training (full- or part-time) | Provides participants with a combination of training and work experience for up to 52 weeks and income support paid by CEIC. About 25% of the time will be spent in off-site training and the remainder in worksite training | Encourages projects, lasting up to 52 weeks, which combine on-site and off-site training as required. It can provide wage subsidies for individual placements of disabled and employment-disadvantaged clients | Provides financial assistance for employers who must train employees in these required skills. Assistance may last up to three years and is available for both on- and off-the-job training (full- or part-time) | Provides funds for pilot and demonstration projects to test new solutions and initiatives | Assists communities suffering from mass layoffs, plant closures, chronic or structural unemployment or economic decline |
| **Participants** | Employed workers facing technological or economic change in the workplace | Unemployed young people without significant work experience or post-secondary diploma or degree and who have been out of school for at least three months. Women who need assistance to enter or re-enter the labour market | People who have been unemployed for 24 out of the last 30 weeks. The employment-disadvantaged, women, disabled persons, Native people and visible minorities are included | Current employees who need to have their skills upgraded or new employees who require training | Various | Unemployed workers in recipient communities |
| **Employers** | Individuals, owners in small businesses, self-employed individuals, employee associations and unions | Businesses, organizations, individuals, ad hoc groups, institutions, governments and agencies can serve as Coordinators and Training Place Hosts | Businesses, community groups, municipalities, individuals and voluntary associations | Any employer | Individuals or groups from all sectors | Private sector |

# APPENDIX B

# CANADIAN JOBS STRATEGY PROGRAM ELEMENT OUTLINE

## Canadian Jobs Strategy Program Element Outline

Within each of the six CJS programs summarized in Appendix A, there are 2 or more program elements (or options). These are listed and described below.

| Program | Program Element |
|---|---|
| Skill Shortages | Workplace-Based Option<br>Direct Purchase Option |
| Skill Investment | Small Business Option<br>Extended Training Leave<br>Training Trust Funds<br>Direct Purchase Option |
| Job Entry | Entry Option<br>Re-Entry Option<br>Direct Purchase Option |
| Job Development | Option 1: General Projects<br>Option 2: Individually Subsidized Jobs<br>Option 3: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged<br>Direct Purchase Option |

### Direct Purchase Option

Through this program element, the federal government purchases training in educational institutions by the direct federal-provincial transfer of funds, made under the authority of the National Training Act (1982). CJS participants are selected and referred by local CECs directly to institutional courses; and are classified by CJS program, according to particular program criteria (for example, those unemployed for 24 out of the last 30 weeks are classified under the Job Development program).

## Skill Shortages: Workplace-Based Option

The EIC Employment Manual (EA 19.04) states in relation to this program element that:

> Employers after identifying a training need in a designated occupational skill may approach a Canada Employment Centre for financial assistance to train employees, current or recently hired. Workplace-Based Training may consist of any combination of on- and off-the-job training.

## Skill Investment: Small Business Option, Extended Training Leave, and Training Trust Fund

The EIC Employment Manual (EA 28.03) states that:

> 1. Training Trust Fund Option
>
>    This option will encourage employee associations singly or in conjunction with employers to establish trust funds for the purpose of providing financial assistance to train employee participants.
>
> 2. Extended Training Leave Option
>
>    This option encourages employers to permit individual employees to take leave from work to upgrade their skills or learn new skills.
>
> 3. Small Business Training Option
>
>    This option provides incentives to employers to retrain workers, managers of small businesses and self-employed individuals for newly required skills or as an alternative to layoffs.

## Job Entry: Entry Option and Re-Entry Option

The EIC Employment Manual (EA 27.01,3) states that:

> The Job Entry Program is specifically designed for persons needing assistance to make a transition into the labour market. The program options include:
>
> a) Entry, which provides eligible youth with an integrated combination of on- and off-site training and work experience;

b) Re-Entry, which provides eligible women re-entering the labour force with a combination of on- and off-site training and work experience.

Job Development: Options 1, 2 and 3

The Job Development: Guide to Applicants (EIC, WH3597:1) provides this outline of the program elements:

Option 1: General Projects

Job Development will subsidize employers who operate projects normally employing three or more long-term unemployed individuals in specific occupations providing both training and work experience. Jobs funded must be in addition to both existing jobs or jobs which normally would have been created in the absence of the program.

Option 2: Individually Subsidized Jobs

Employers are subsidized to hire employment-disadvantaged long-term unemployed individuals, to fill newly created jobs or current job vacancies, and to provide them with a combination of training and work experience for a specific job. Employment-disadvantaged individuals are generally defined as those who, although willing to work, have had particular difficulty in finding a job as a result of a physical, mental, social or cultural barrier.

Option 3: Projects for the Severely Employment-Disadvantaged

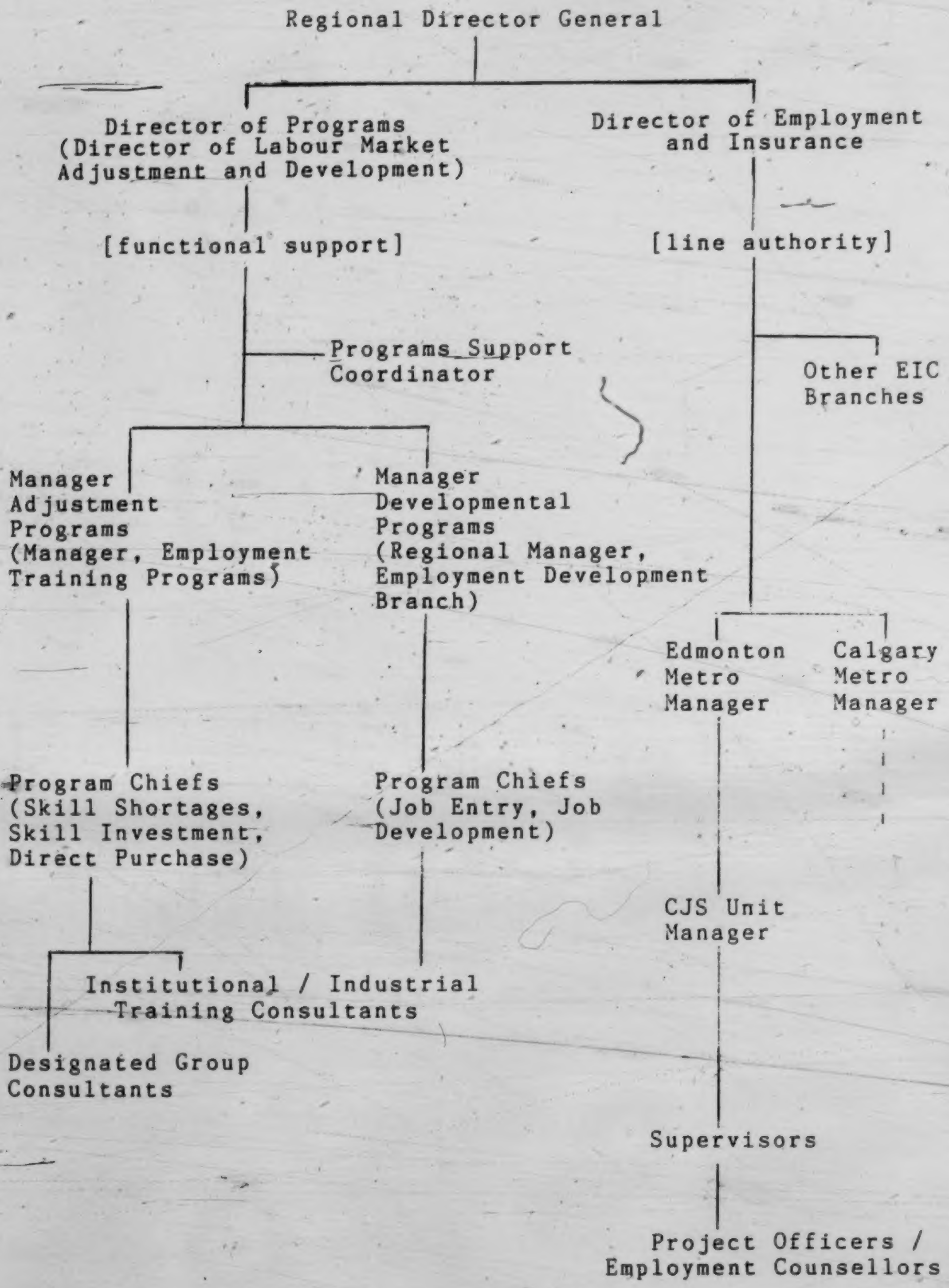
There are special provisions for projects designed to assist the severely employment-disadvantaged long-term unemployed. A severely employment-disadvantaged person is one who has had difficulty in getting and keeping continuing employment due to problematic work habits, attitudes and motivation problems, a serious lack of education or training, prolonged periods of institutionalization, functional illiteracy or a long history of drug or alcohol abuse. Sucn projects would include employment preparation and guidance to assist individuals in becoming ready for work.

# APPENDIX C

# PARTIAL ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

# OF

# THE ALBERTA REGION OF EMPLOYMENT AND IMMIGRATION CANADA


Regional Director General
Director of Programs (Director of Labour Market Adjustment and Development)
Director of Employment and Insurance
[functional support]
[line authority]
Programs Support Coordinator
Other EIC Branches
Manager Adjustment Programs (Manager, Employment Training Programs)
Manager Developmental Programs (Regional Manager, Employment Development Branch)
Edmonton Metro Manager
Calgary Metro Manager
Program Chiefs (Skill Shortages, Skill Investment, Direct Purchase)
Program Chiefs (Job Entry, Job Development)
CJS Unit Manager
Institutional / Industrial Training Consultants
Designated Group Consultants
Supervisors
Project Officers / Employment Counsellors

During the monitoring period, the organizational structure of the Alberta Region of EIC was in transition. This chart represents the approximate organizational structure, as described by several RHQ personnel. Importantly the positions and relative seniority of personnel referred to in this study are accurate although in some cases their former title is bracketed under their present title.

Personnel responsible to the Director of Programs have a functional support role for the staff in the Edmonton and Calgary district offices. The Director of Employment and Insurance exercises line authority over district office staff.

The Managers of the Edmonton and Calgary district offices have a dual role. They are district managers for CJS, the Edmonton Manager being responsible for CJS programming through CECs in areas north of Red Deer, and the Calgary Manager being responsible for the remainder. These individuals also act as Metropolitan Managers for the CECs in those cities.

Project Officers in the CJS Unit in each district office have responsibility for maintaining liaison with city and rural CECs in that district.

# APPENDIX D

# ACRONYMS

# Acronyms

| | |
|---|---|
| ACDE | Alberta Career Development and Employment (formerly Alberta Manpower) |
| CEC | Canada Employment Centre |
| CEIC | Canada Employment and Immigration Commission |
| CJS | Canadian Jobs Strategy |
| EDB | Employment Development Branch (later CJS Unit) |
| EIC | Employment and Immigration Canada |
| NHQ | National Headquarters (Ottawa) |
| NTA | National Training Act |
| RHQ | Alberta Regional Headquarters of Employment and Immigration Canada |
| UI | Unemployment Insurance |